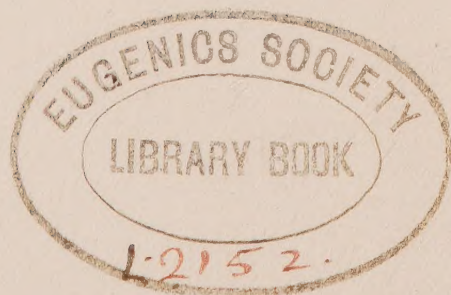


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THE AFRICAN CHILD

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(*John Lane*)

THE CHILD GROWS UP

(*John Lane*)

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the Dance

(*Gerald Howe*)

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YOUNG AFRICA

Original drawing by Miss Peggy Smith, reproduced by courtesy of the artist.

THE AFRICAN CHILD

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN CHILDREN
GENEVA

By

EVELYN SHARP

Author of "The London Child", "The Child Grows Up",
"Here We Go Round: The Story of the Dance", "Somewhere
in Christendom", etc., etc.

with an Introduction by

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LUGARD, G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., D.C.L., etc.
Sometime Governor-General of Nigeria.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

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55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
221 EAST 20TH STREET, CHICAGO
88 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON
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26 GORDON STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

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PRINTED AND MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY THE WEARDALE PRESS, LTD
NEWNHAM STREET
BEDFORD

INTRODUCTION

THE SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL Conference on African Children was "nothing if not practical", says the author of this admirable chronicle of its work, and if that is a verdict one would hesitate to pass on some of the never-ending cycle of sessions at Geneva, the reason is at once apparent from a glance in the first place at the careful and very practical organisation which preceded it, and in the second place at the type of persons who took part in it. A well-thought-out questionnaire distributed to those who could speak from actual experience—in many cases of almost life-long contact with African children—had produced a wealth of replies and "reports" in which each writer had concentrated his or her thoughts into the briefest compass. These, with a time-limit for oral addresses, afforded material which could not fail to be constructive. On the other hand we find Africans, Americans, and Europeans, representatives of Governments, missionaries, anthropologists, medical officers (and especially women doctors), and administrators assembled to deal with the problems. Such people do not come all the way to Geneva without a definite object in view. And the book which it is my privilege to commend to the public has exactly caught the dominant note of the Congress, for every view is represented and contrasted with its alternatives without prejudice, and leads up naturally to the recorded conclusions and resolutions.

I have sometimes wondered whether the self-sacrifice of noble lives devoted to saving malformed children and those afflicted with incurable disease who must suffer all their lives from contrast with the normal child if not from physical pain—as well as the feeble-minded who

THE AFRICAN CHILD

can never "make good"—is either really kind to the individuals or wise from the point of view of the welfare of the community. For the congestion of the populations, and the prospect of unemployment even for many of the capable must, before the world grows much older, become a problem of the first magnitude, with prospects of suffering in the struggle for life.

But saving the children of Africa is, or should be, quite a different matter. The infant mortality recorded in some regions of Africa—reaching, some speakers said, the hardly credible figure of 800 and 820 per 1,000—is so appalling that one wonders whether the term has been loosely interpreted to include deaths of infants of over one year of age. In quoting statistics terms must be strictly defined. The evidence as a whole seems to indicate, however, that not less than half the babies die. To this must be added a very heavy percentage of still-births and miscarriages, and of deaths in infancy subsequent to the first year. The number, therefore, which reaches maturity must, if these assumptions are correct, be a comparatively small percentage of the potential increase, and this in a continent which needs to be re-populated in order to recover from the tribal wars, the slave raids, and the epidemics of the past. England, with a population of over 700 to the square mile, has an infant death rate of about 70 per *mille*. Tropical Africa, with an average population of less than 14 to the square mile, has a rate of 500 per *mille*!—a great proportion of whom might have grown into healthy manhood or womanhood.

The Conference showed its sanity and moderation by the way in which it dealt with the highly controversial subject of female initiation rites. There was complete unanimity in its insistence on the religious nature of the

INTRODUCTION

African. In dealing with such a people, said Père Guilcher, you cannot eradicate evils grounded on spiritual beliefs by enacting laws, but only by the substitution of a better ritual, while Dr. Blacklock (a lady with long African experience) wisely insisted that in dealing with these immemorial customs the doctor and the anthropologist must work together. In these eminently sensible conclusions the delegates seem to have concurred.

It was, of course, inevitable that one speaker after another should demand more doctors and more hospitals. The administrator knows not only that there is a limit to the extent to which the revenue derived from a country mainly agricultural can provide for such services, and also for the equally insistent demands for education, but also that the supply of qualified doctors is limited. Africa must provide in large part for her own requirements, and until she can train fully-qualified medical men the urgent need can be very largely met by partially-trained Africans—tribal dressers, dispensers, vaccinators, etc., who can be taught to deal with a limited number of particular diseases, and to dispense the appropriate drugs or administer the right injection with all antiseptic precautions. And so after all education comes first in order that amelioration and alleviation may not wait indefinitely for the attainment of the ideal.

The Conference, says the author, did not waste time in discussing unreliable statistics, it was enough to arrive unanimously at the conclusion that the loss of infant life was "excessive and preventible" without instituting invidious comparisons which do more harm than good. Emphasis was very rightly laid on two main causes of mortality—venereal disease and low wages. With regard to the former the Conference was informed that ninety

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per cent. of the still-births in Uganda are due to syphilis in contrast to the "alleged fact" that forty years ago the disease was unknown there. I was in Uganda forty years ago and can assure Dr. Küsters that the allegation is untrue. Apparently supported by a remark of an African delegate and by a quotation from my friend Professor Torday, both referring to primeval Africa, these statements naturally prompt the author's comment—"A terrible indictment of the white races!" I think, however, it may be said with truth that the slave-raiding Arabs and their *ruga-ruga* of coast Swahilis were mainly if not entirely responsible for the introduction of syphilis into the interior of Africa.

The second cause—low wages—a chief (though not the only) cause of malnutrition and over-working of women, is a question which calls for the consideration of the administrator and of the employer of labour, and I may add the quantity and nutritive quality of the rations when they form part of the wages. Regulations exist, but an inspectorate to see that they are obeyed is needed.

The education of the child opens a field of enquiry too large for adequate discussion as one of the four sections of the Conference. It is enough to note that emphasis was laid on the essential need for female education for infant welfare. "If you educate a man", said Dr. Aggrey, "you educate an individual, if you educate a woman, you educate a family." The education of the women of Africa must be regarded from a three-fold aspect. First in regard to their work in the house and the fields, secondly as mothers and in the care of the new-born infant, and thirdly in the conceptions and ideas which they will pass on to the growing child.

Detention at the session of the Mandates Commission

INTRODUCTION

of the League of Nations limited my personal attendance to a single sitting at the Conference, and prevented my joining in the final resolution for the permanent organisation of the work which the Conference was summoned to promote—a resolution to which we may be assured all readers of this book will heartily subscribe.

LUGARD.

8 *October*, 1931.

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CHAPTER I
MAKING AFRICAN HISTORY AT GENEVA

"We make one claim only, and that is to throw the searchlight upon the problem of the child, to show that this problem is of prime importance and that the whole future of Africa depends upon it, and to group round this idea those people of goodwill—both Government servants and private individuals—who, for so long past, have been at work and are now happy to see this question given due place in the international field."—THE RIGHT HON. LORD NOEL-BUXTON (*President of the Save the Children Fund, Great Britain*), in his address at the opening session of the *International Conference on African Children, held in Geneva, June 21-25, 1931*.

"Geneva has been the scene of many international efforts with conflicting ideals and purposes. This Conference is free from such conflict; it is united in purpose. If it results in the formation of a permanent organisation for the carrying out of this purpose, I can promise the co-operation of the British Government."—MR. R. V. VERNON (*British Colonial Office*), *ibid.*

"Now is the psychological moment for giving help to Africa . . . It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this Conference. It will very much surprise me if our efforts during these four days do not make history."—DR. A. R. COOK (*Church Missionary Society Hospital, Mengo, Uganda*), *ibid.*

"To help the peoples of Africa is Europe's debt of honour. This is particularly so with regard to the children of Africa . . . The African people need help, and they rightly look for this help to us, who have made ourselves the masters of their fate."—PROFESSOR WESTERMANN (*Director of the International Institute for the Study of African Languages and Cultures*), in a message read out at the Conference.

"I believe the International Conference on African Children has a vital part to play as regards the development of Africa. Even if the British nation had no territory in Africa, its future would be of the greatest concern to us. As we happen to be the largest African power, responsibility lies upon us too."—PROFESSOR JULIAN HUXLEY, *ibid.*

THE AFRICAN CHILD

CHAPTER I

MAKING AFRICAN HISTORY AT GENEVA

AT GENEVA, THE INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL of the civilised world, conferences come and go, and each one is hopefully expected by its conveners to add another page to the history of mankind. Prophecies that cannot be realised in the lifetime of the prophet are always tempting to make, but there is, perhaps, some slight justification for thinking that out of the Conference on African Children held in Geneva in June, 1931, may emerge enough constructive thought to lead to a change of outlook and indicate a new line of activity that may reasonably affect the future course of human events. In calling together representatives of all the interests, white and coloured, that exist in Africa to-day, for the purpose of pooling their knowledge and experience, the primary object of the Save the Children International Union was to extend to African children the provisions of the Declaration of Geneva, and especially those two clauses of it that run as follows: "The Child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually . . . The Child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation." *

The Declaration of Geneva was adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations in 1924. It was always the intention of its originator, Eglantyne Jebb, who, before she died in 1928, saw the Union she helped to found working for its realisation in many European countries,

* See Appendix I for the whole Declaration.

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to apply this charter of the child equally to the children of the whole world. For her there existed no barriers of race or creed, and, one might add, no limitation to mortal capacity for effecting reforms needed for the welfare of the child wherever suffering children were to be found. She would therefore have liked the first international Conference called for this purpose to be so planned as to include the children of Asia with those of Africa, and she only relinquished the wider ambition on the grounds of an expediency she by nature detested.

Inspired by her vision, the Save the Children International Union summoned the Conference she did not live to attend, and it met in the beautiful city on the lake at the foot of Mount Salève for four days at the end of June, 1931. Every attempt had been made, both by the international body and by its founder-member, the British Save the Children Fund, to make it truly representative of all the forces that combine to control the fate of the child in Africa. All the Governments that have possessions in Africa, all the business firms and other organizations whose commercial interests are in Africa, all the missionary, scientific, educational, and welfare associations engaged in religious and social work among the people, including of course those that are African and whose members are of African race, received invitations to attend ; and the response, with the exception of those who represent commercial and employing interests (who refrained from taking part in the proceedings, though some of them furnished useful information), was remarkably good. The British Government sent a strong delegation from the Colonial Office consisting of representatives from all its African possessions and mandated territories ; the Belgian Government sent one delegate,

HISTORIC ASSOCIATIONS

while the Italian and Portuguese Governments each sent an official observer. Although the French Government was not represented officially, French missionaries and men of science took part in the Conference ; and other European nations similarly contributed spokesmen and readers of papers, if not delegates of an official standing.*

There was, too, a historic interest in the association with the Conference of Lord Noel-Buxton, its president, and of his sister, Mrs. de Bunsen, chairman of the British Committee that helped to organise it, who are great-grandchildren of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the liberator of African slaves. Certainly, by the time it met, the assembly was one of informed men and women, and it should have been an impartial assembly if impartiality is to be achieved through the impact and counterplay of conflicting views. These were indeed so conflicting in some directions that the single purpose which brought all these people to Geneva, the welfare of children with particular reference to infant mortality and to questions of education, economics, and labour, was probably the only subject in the world on which they could conceivably devise a concerted policy.

Looking along the benches, that first morning, in the Salle Centrale, where the Conference met on four perfect summer days in succession, one felt aware of the various elements that offered possibilities for discord should any link in the chain that held them all together break under pressure of a sudden clash of interests or opinions. Eight European nationalities were to be found there—British, Belgian, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Swiss—while the Africans present differed as much in culture and personality from one another as the Europeans

* See Appendix II for complete list of those attending the Conference.

THE AFRICAN CHILD

did. Other differences were more subtle, perhaps, but equally provocative of controversy. Roman Catholics and Anglicans, Swiss Protestants and French Evangelicals, anthropologists of various schools, medical and health authorities, university professors and other educationists, officials and missionaries, public and private administrators, experts and philanthropists, Communists and individualists—most of the elements of human society that destroy harmony and hamper co-operation in every civilized state—were gathered under one roof in that sunny little hall. If the chain broke before the four days came to an end, who should wonder?

THE QUESTION OF RACE

It may be said at once that it did not break, although, fortunately for any ultimate result the Conference might have, minority opinion secured free expression instead of being left to smoulder and so constitute later a barrier to effective action. Two basic questions tested the attitude of mind of the Conference quite early in its deliberations, and threatened to provide material for misunderstanding and friction. One had reference to the relationship of African and European throughout the continent of Africa, and the other to the survival of tribal customs and ceremonies that are injurious to health and progress, but, being religious in origin, are still regarded as sacred by many Africans. These two subjects of debate will be found recurring from time to time in the more detailed account of the Conference contained in the forthcoming chapters of this book. It would be, of course, almost impossible to approach any African question without touching on one or the other of them; and their significance in

A CHALLENGE

connection with the welfare of children is so great that it may be useful to outline here the general attitude of the delegates towards both.

It was clear from the outset that the great majority of those present came there in a spirit of friendliness and mutual respect. When, during the first session, a British delegate challenged rather too hotly a charge of white incompetence and neglect that had been advanced with some bitterness by an African delegate, the atmosphere became for a few moments tense and disquieting ; but subsequent speakers of both races made it clear that the Conference as a whole refused to admit the existence of a colour bar or of the inferiority of one people to another, and in the end the little incident seemed to have served almost a useful purpose in revealing an unsuspected sensitiveness on the African side, springing no doubt from injustices suffered that are of the kind more easily forgotten by the descendants or contemporaries of the oppressors than by those of the oppressed. It soon became apparent that the task of reminding the Conference of white dominance or white exploitation as a factor in the sufferings of children was by no means undertaken only by the coloured delegates present ; and the more enlightened attitude of the modern European in Africa, whether missionary or administrator, was revealed again and again both in the papers presented at the four sessions and in the discussions that followed.

In a greeting to the delegates at the opening session, for instance, Signor Catastini (Chief of the Mandates Section, League of Nations Secretariat) stated the League point of view very clearly when he spoke of the modern conception of colonization as demanding the effective co-operation of the original inhabitants. The practical

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application of this principle was indicated at the last session of the Conference by Mr. Duncan-Johnstone (official British delegate from the Gold Coast), who asserted that only by such co-operation was any effective administration ever to be achieved ; and he added the interesting information that the young administrative cadet who goes out to represent Great Britain in Africa to-day is taught to approach an African chief as a friendly equal and has to spend the first year of his residence out there in studying native languages and customs. At the intervening sessions, there were also allusions in many of the speeches to the kind of relationship that should exist between the two races in other than the purely administrative sphere. During the discussion on infant mortality, Professor Henri Labouret (Joint Director of the International Institute for the Study of African Languages and Cultures) criticized the old idea that the European is necessarily the saviour and the African the person to be saved, an assumption that is contradicted by the numbers of existing cultured Africans and by the growth of independence among the women, of whom, he added by way of illustration, some ten thousand struck recently in West Africa as a protest against proposed taxation. Were such women, he asked, mothers who had not the intelligence to collaborate in the work of saving their children ?

“ N’ayez pas pitié pour l’enfant africain ! ” exclaimed Monsieur E. Robert (inspector of Evangelical schools in the French Cameroons), in presenting his paper on education during the third session ; and, taking the same line as Professor Labouret, he deprecated the sentimentalism of the philanthropist who is inclined to pity the poor little black child instead of educating him and developing his independent personality. It was in the

THE AFRICAN VIEW

same session that African opinion was revealed in a thoughtful speech by Miss Casely-Hayford, a delegate from the Sierra Leone branch of the National Congress of British West Africa, who represented that it was not enough to give the Africans spiritual and other teaching in the churches and schools and then to shut them out from social equality with the whites. Her plea took the practical form of a demand for facilities in the higher study of foreign literatures, to enable her fellow countrypeople to enter more fully into the minds of other nations ; it was therefore much more than a mere nationalist complaint, and showed the constructive spirit in which the delicate question of racial equality could be approached by one of African birth.

TRIBAL CUSTOMS

The second source of possible friction, the knotty problem of tribal customs, touched even more closely the questions that the Conference had met to discuss. The fact that certain African rites, especially those in connection with childbirth and initiation ceremonies, are known to have a direct bearing upon the health of the mother and the survival and physique of the infant, brought the matter definitely within the range of those that were pertinent to the inquiry that was being prosecuted. It was equally impossible to exclude spiritual aspects of the same subject that could scarcely fail to rouse serious and even passionate feeling in those who discussed it. Extremists, whether advocates of uncompromising abolition or of complete laissez-faire, were few in number ; between these two policies stood the reasoned opinion of the main body of delegates, who, while agreeing as to the existence of

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harmful superstitions and the desirability of their ultimate abandonment, believed as a result of experience, in some cases of many years of experience of African life, that this end could be achieved only gradually by educative measures undertaken in collaboration by missionaries and administrators and all who are engaged in promoting the welfare of the African child. "It is not by decrees or laws that the mentality of peoples can be transformed", said the Rev. Father Guilcher, of the African Missions of Lyons, presenting a paper on the social and economic causes of infant mortality; and he maintained that evil practices of the kind condemned could be effectively assailed only by moral force, by an appeal, that is, to the naturally spiritual nature of Africans and by the substitution in their religious ritual of something better than the rites that were condemned.

Scientists and doctors similarly pressed for the diffusion of knowledge, among African women especially, of the laws of natural science and health, as a counterblast to their belief in magic; and, as will be seen later in the table of conclusions arrived at and passed by the Conference at its final meeting, the educational method secured the backing of all the various schools of thought represented there. It was at the same time impossible not to appreciate the vehement demand made by a small minority for the instant prohibition by law of the physical operation involved in the circumcision of girls at their initiation, and the equally vehement retort made by the native African minority to the effect that holders of this opinion should first study the origin and meaning of these and other customs, since, as Mr. Johnstone Kenyatta (Central Kikuyu Association, Kenya) put it, "We believe in them as Christians believe in the ten commandments". But

MAGIC AND SCIENCE

vehemence, while it may be excusable, has the unfortunate effect of stultifying useful discussion ; for the reasonable advocate, inside or outside conference walls, has an inherent dislike to violent opinions violently expressed, and will always prefer to postpone a discussion that might provoke them.

A small circumstance that may have helped to prejudice beforehand the approach of the delegates to this difficult problem was the permission given of necessity to the Duchess of Atholl, M.P. (vice-chairman of an unofficial Committee of the House of Commons that has been studying questions affecting the health of the women and children of Africa), whose Parliamentary duties obliged her to return to London on the evening of the opening day, to make her contribution to its discussion at the outset of the Conference, before the first session was proceeded with. The members of it had scarcely settled down to business ; they were unprepared to plunge straight into one aspect of a controversial subject that would otherwise have been brought up in the natural course of debate on matters that figured elsewhere in the time-table, while the speaker herself was at a disadvantage in not hearing it discussed first by people who were aware of its many aspects, who wished as ardently as she did to reach a satisfactory solution, and were in some cases engaged in active measures directed towards this end. But although prejudice may have been unduly aroused at first by the rather unorthodox fashion in which the matter was introduced as an isolated question, there were opportunities later for a more exhaustive discussion of it, and it was, of course, thoroughly threshed out by the special commission appointed to draw up the summary of conclusions already referred to.

THE AFRICAN CHILD

An impartial observer of the four days' proceedings might also have wondered slightly that more controversy was not provoked by the discussion, on the last day, of juvenile labour conditions throughout Africa ; but the unanimity shown was no doubt partly due to the absence of employers of labour from among those who were dealing with this important question. In the main, the subjects set down in the programme for consideration were not controversial in themselves, and differences of opinion became helpful rather than obstructive when they meant differences of experience and of methods used to attain the common end. Variations in the culture and development of the peoples inhabiting Africa constituted a real difficulty in pooling results, but that was a difficulty inherent in the choice of a whole continent for investigation. The basic needs of a baby in Kenya and a baby in Basutoland (or, for that matter, of a baby in a London slum) are the same, and to a lesser extent this is also true of the older child. This simple fact kept the field of enquiry within manageable limits.

PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

Categorically stated, the subjects to be considered appeared in the form of the following four questions, to each of which a session was devoted :

Question I.—Still-birth and infant mortality from the pathological point of view.

Question II.—Still-birth and infant mortality from the social and economic point of view.

Question III.—Education, in regard to the preparation of children for life.

Question IV.—General conditions of work for children and adolescents and the protection of children at work.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In preparation for the Conference a questionnaire under these four headings had been circulated months beforehand by the Save the Children International Union of Geneva and the Save the Children Fund of London to all the suitable organizations and authorities throughout Africa and in the several countries concerned ; and although, owing to the impossibility of procuring exact statistics in most of the territories investigated, the answers thus obtained could not be regarded as scientifically unassailable, they afforded ample material for general conclusions and formed the basis of the written reports that were submitted. The writers of these papers were experts in their several vocations ; all were men and women who had practical knowledge of the subject they wrote about. When their vocations overlapped, as in the case of Miss E. D. Earthy, who, in addition to her missionary work for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is an anthropologist of distinction, the report produced was of extraordinary value. In every case the papers were full of interesting and suggestive material, and it is a matter for regret that time did not permit of their being actually read, or even discussed in detail, in the Salle Centrale. Another report, for instance, that deserves special mention as covering far more than the ground of the particular enquiry, was written by the late Emil Torday, whose wealth of human understanding, as well as his known scientific attainments, was emphasised in the tribute paid to his memory by Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, M.P. But all the papers were so good, apart from their immediate and topical appeal, that one's regret at their having received less than the consideration they deserved is only tempered by the reflection that perhaps the Conference owed some of its success to the circulation of the written papers before-

THE AFRICAN CHILD

hand, so that more time than is generally allowed at international meetings was thus made available for the verbal interchange of opinions upon their subject matter.*

Geneva afforded exactly the right setting for a Conference of this kind. On the Sunday before it opened, special sermons were preached in the churches, the preachers including the Very Rev. Father Lena, Assistant General of the Holy Ghost Fathers, and the Bishop of Warrington, Dr. Gresford Jones. The latter, who as former Bishop of Kampala, Uganda, was qualified to speak with authority on Africa and her peoples, raised the subject to a high level in the address he gave at the English Church to many of the delegates. He seemed to anticipate some of the conflicting emotions that were to find expression in the Salle Centrale during the coming four days, in his reminder that to enter into the creative mind of Christ was to discover a delightful new relationship with our brother men—what the Christian Socialists called reverence for human personality—and that this should make all who seek to serve the Africans reverence in them their fine qualities, the dignity and modesty of their women and the readiness of their men to make sacrifices for the education of their children, and, above all, their spirituality and capacity for faith, even if this was not always of the intellectual kind. “Don’t be afraid to educate these Africans,” he urged, “always remembering the baffling pace at which civilization has burst in upon them.” He referred to the diseases that civilization had brought into Africa from Europe, “which are only to be effectively combated by the power of God”, and emphasized the necessity for “going slow” when educating Africans in new ways, while at the same time satisfying their aspirations

* See Appendix III for complete list of papers with their authors.

THE SPIRITUAL WAY

and bringing them into the brotherhood of civilized men. The subtle warning conveyed here, combined with his own faith in the spiritual potentialities of Africans which could be reached in Christ's way through the child, struck what seemed to be the right note on the eve of a Conference that would mean, if it meant anything at all, the inscribing of a new page in the history of human relationships.

CHAPTER II

WHY DO AFRICAN CHILDREN DIE?

"African babies are calling!—babies of a hundred different types, from the little brown-wax model rolling about in a bee-hive hut in Zululand to the coloured baby with a bonnet in Johannesburg proudly imitating its European sister . . . Unfathomable brown eyes are peeping at an unknown world from the shelter of the mother's back. And there are those who see in the face of the African baby the face of the Christ Child."—MISS E. D. EARTHY (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*), in her report on infant and ante-natal mortality in south Africa, presented to the Geneva Conference.

"It is impossible to study welfare work among women and children in West as in other parts of Africa, without being struck by the great part which sympathy and personality play in developing any scheme or institution. This is not an aspect of the subject which can be dismissed as being of sentimental interest only; it is, indeed, of the greatest practical value. For, in so far as we can bring friendliness, helpful guidance, and professional skill to the assistance of the African woman, so far shall we influence the welfare of the African child."—DR. MARY G. BLACKLOCK (*Member of the Colonial Advisory Medical and Sanitary Committee of the British Colonial Office, and formerly Government Medical Officer, Sierra Leone*), *ibid.*, in west Africa.

"Central Africa offers her wealth to Europe, but this wealth can be realised only if her human wealth is spared. The future of Africa depends on her children, whose place Europeans will never be able to fill."—*The late* EMIL TORDAY (*Member of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and author of "African Races", etc.*), *ibid.*, in central Africa.

CHAPTER II

WHY DO AFRICAN CHILDREN DIE ?

THE DIFFICULTIES PRESENTED BY THE wide variation in climate and race, and in economic and cultural development, as shown in reports from different parts of Africa, were revealed as soon as the Conference entered upon its examination of ante-natal and infant mortality, which occupied the first two sessions. While, for instance, Dr. A. R. Paterson (Deputy Director of Sanitary Services in Kenya, of which colony he was an official representative) mentioned lack of a water supply as one of the chief reasons why " the domestic environment of the African is more suited to the survival of disease than to the survival of man ", Dr. A. R. Cook complained that in his area of Uganda the people suffered, not because the water was too far from their homes, but because it was too near and caused malaria. This contrast was a typical one, though other, and in some respects, more subtly important differences were brought to light in the course of discussion. It was found impossible, in any case, to separate the pathological from the economic causes of the waste of child life in Africa ; and these two aspects of the problem, though indicated separately in two of the questions set down for debate in the programme, were, therefore, taken together, and the Commission appointed to summarise the results dealt with both at once.

Nor could the ethical causes be confined to any one session, for these were shown to be bound up with every other aspect and especially with the social condition of the parents. " A low standard of living does not necessarily cause a low ethical standard of life ", writes Miss Earthy

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in her paper on south Africa ; “ but it does seem to do so in some of the great economic areas of Africa, perhaps because aesthetic and moral values go side by side ”. The whole trend of the comprehensive paper written on central Africa by Emil Torday, the anthropologist, conveys a warning against destroying too abruptly the traditional background of the African, which in some respects—the claims of the clan, for instance, as opposed to those of the tribe or state—may be, he urges, “ the best guarantee of the child’s welfare and education ”. Thus, he adds, “ medical men, few in numbers and to a great extent overworked by attending to their European patients, can do no more than fight the symptoms of racial deterioration ; it is for the anthropologist and the sociologist to get at the root of the evil and for the Government to legislate in accordance with their findings ”.

THE WASTE OF INFANT LIFE

On one point the Conference was unanimous, that the loss of infant life, both before and after birth, is not only avoidable but is disastrously high. Monsieur E. Robert, in his educational report on west Africa, mentions districts where the mortality in the first sixty days of life is so great that parents commonly wait until after this period before they name their babies. At the same time, in most of the eight papers contributed on infant mortality, which, like all the reports, were based on the replies received to the questionnaire that was circulated beforehand, stress is laid on the impossibility of obtaining exact statistics. This, as Dr. Mary Blacklock points out, “ must necessarily be so in any backward country where medical work is just

THE REFORMER'S PROBLEM

developing and where, partly from inadequacy of trained staff and partly from lack of education of the people in the necessity for compulsory registration, and in the benefits to be obtained from European medical treatment, the work of keeping accurate records is extremely difficult ". In the following passage, she states the problem of the health reformer for all Africa :

The problem of ameliorating unhealthy conditions for mothers and children among people living in towns where European medical treatment has become popular, is a comparatively easy one ; central institutions are easily accessible ; health visiting is practicable and economy of staff possible. Compare this with the difficult task of supplying ante-natal and midwifery care to the women of a nomadic tribe ; or of developing a maternity service for the women of a primitive community living in isolated small bush villages ; to women, that is, who are suspicious of all European customs and medicine, whose religion, traditional customs, and habits of life are so intertwined, and whose superstitious beliefs are so strongly held, that the apparently simple eradication of some harmful practice connected with pregnancy or childbirth may present surprising difficulties.

Taking all difficulties into account, however, some statistical value is to be attached both to the general average and relative rates of the figures sent in, and for the sake of this rough comparison they are given here.*

North Africa.—The region dealt with by Dr. A. Laffont (professor of gynaecology in the University of Algiers) is so vast and diverse that he subdivides it into six districts, all except two administered by France. For Morocco, Tunis, and southern Algeria, no figures are available, though in the first of these it is claimed that good results have followed from health measures taken by the Government. In northern Algeria, where, he points out, the problem is less acute owing to an excellent climate and good social

* The following official figures for the year 1927 show the rate of infant mortality per 1,000 births in the principal European countries : England and Wales, 69 ; Scotland, 83.1 ; Denmark, 80 ; France, 97.4 ; Germany, 105 ; Netherlands, 51 ; Norway, 54.3 ; Poland, 164 ; Sweden, 55.

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conditions, the infant mortality figures, obtainable only in the neighbourhood of large towns, show a rate for 1928 as low as 8.6 per cent. among Africans and 12.3 among Europeans.* In Tripolitania, urban figures again being all that are obtainable, the rate rises to 50 per cent. In Egypt, a great variation is to be found, corresponding to the difference in civilization; thus, in the neighbourhood of Cairo, it appears to be 25 per cent., while on the banks of the Nile, between Assuan and Wad-el-Arab, it rises to 60 and even 70 per cent. Finally, in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the rate is said to reach 50 per cent. and sometimes goes even beyond that. Thus, in north Africa as a whole, except, possibly, in northern Algeria where the African population is said, on the contrary, to be increasing steadily, the mortality rate for infants is exceedingly high.

South Africa.—The reporter for this area, Dr. Adrien Sechehaye (former medical missionary in the Swiss Mission to South Africa) similarly subdivides it into districts. The figures are again vague. In Southern Rhodesia, the infant mortality rate reaches 50 per cent. in the worst regions, but it is said to vary considerably elsewhere. In Portuguese East Africa it is said “probably” to reach 40 to 50 per cent.; the same tentative figure is given for Natal; in the Transvaal it is estimated at 50 per cent., in the Orange Free State at 40 to 70 per cent.; in Basutoland 10 to 20 per cent. No figures are given for East Griqualand; in Bechuanaland and South-West Africa, where the population is sparse and consists largely of Bushmen, the figures supplied show a rate of about 30 per cent.; and finally, in Cape Province, where also no compulsory register appears to be kept, the only rate given is one of 33 per

* The figures mentioned are in every case given as they occur in the reports from which they are taken; some, therefore, show the rates per 1,000 births, and others, the rate per cent.

VARIABLE STATISTICS

cent. in the district of Lovedale. A significant detail is supplied here in the statement that children between one and five years in Lovedale die in a proportion of one European child to twenty-one non-European children. This appears to be in exact contrast to the figures for northern Algeria.

East Africa.—Here again we have a vast tract of country, showing much variation in the development of health services and education, with corresponding effects upon infant mortality. Dr. A. R. Cook does not attempt in his report to give statistics for Kenya Colony and Tanganyika Territory, but states that in Uganda, where such welfare work has been done, the rate is now 33 per cent. The second paper on east Africa, by Dr. P. Meinulf Küsters, O.S.B. (a former missionary and now assistant director of the Munich Ethnographical Museum), suggests that the average rate for the northern part of the area is 50 per cent. or even higher, since it rises to 82 per cent. in the worst districts. He gives the average for the southern part as 52 per cent., though he points out that this area includes some well administered districts, such as Tanganyika, Uganda, and Nyasaland, where the rate sometimes sinks as low as 20 per cent.

West Africa.—The two reporters on west Africa are equally cautious in accepting figures at their face value. Father Guilcher estimates that the average infant mortality rate over the whole area varies between 45 to 50 per cent. ; it sometimes touches 60 per cent. Dr. Mary Blacklock gives definite figures for some west African towns where registration is compulsory, and these show that the rate varies between 395 per 1,000 births in Bathurst (Gambia) and 52 per 1,000 in Cape Coast (Gold Coast) ; but she goes on to say that further figures obtained from rural districts

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are, more or less, the result of guess-work, and she can only say that, in unhealthy areas, the rate may be as high as 500 per 1,000, and is everywhere "undoubtedly high", rising to 300 per 1,000 even in towns that are well sanitated but in which maternal and child welfare work has not yet been developed.

Central Africa.—Most of the figures supplied for this part of the continent, says Dr. J. Rodhain (director of the Forest School of Tropical Medicine, Brussels), do not refer exclusively to children under one year old. The infant mortality rate, where procurable, seems to range between 70 and 80 per cent. in Angola, and 25 and 30 per cent. in the French Cameroons. The Angola figure notwithstanding, he judges that the rate for infants in central Africa is often no greater than in many European countries, though the mortality of children up to puberty may be higher.

It will be seen from these reports that very few of the figures supplied in the answers to the questionnaire are scientifically sound, although the general impression conveyed is, undoubtedly, one of a very high infant mortality rate except in one or two areas, such as the towns of northern Algeria and of some of the British possessions in east and west Africa. But if the figures for infant deaths are difficult to obtain, those for ante-natal mortality in its various forms (abortion, miscarriage, and premature still-births) are rarely obtainable at all. The African woman, Dr. Blacklock tells us, "is loth to tell of the loss of her children, either after or even more so before birth, and, indeed, can seldom remember the number of such losses accurately". Also, she adds, "Evasion in the registration of still-births is still very great, as the body can be so easily and surreptitiously buried; it is certain

ANTE-NATAL MORTALITY

therefore, that the figures given for the still-birth rate are almost always too low". She gives a tentative figure of 48 per 1,000 births in parts of Liberia (Mosambolalun) and of 38 per 1,000 in French Guinea (Koumbia), obtained in answer to enquiries; but Father Guilcher commits himself no further with regard to west Africa than to say that the figure is abnormally high.

Dr. Rodhain, giving a rate for still-births of 3.89 per cent. in the eastern part of the Belgian Congo, rising to 23 per cent. on the left bank of the Kwilu, states that no figures are available anywhere else in central Africa, and that in any case the majority of non-medical informants confuse still-births and miscarriages, thus detracting from the value of their figures. For east Africa, a definite though limited figure is supplied by Dr. Cook, who gives 67 per cent. as the rate for miscarriages and premature still-births in pregnant women suffering from syphilis in the Church Missionary Society's Hospital at Mengo (Uganda), and an ante-natal mortality of 21 per cent. of the unborn offspring of the Buganda women who have come for treatment to the hospital.

In north Africa, Dr. Laffont gives a still-birth rate as low as one per cent. for non-European and 3.4 per cent. for European mothers, in the neighbourhood of large towns in Algeria, but refrains from further statistics, saying it is impossible in any case to estimate the number of natural abortions due to syphilis. In the papers dealing with South Africa no ante-natal statistics are given.

Statistics, however, even when they are to be relied upon, have only a limited value; and it was noticeable at Geneva how little time the Conference spent over them. It was never for one moment disputed that the loss of infant life in Africa is both excessive and preventible;

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and the delegates, therefore, set themselves to consider, not the arithmetic of the question, but the causes, material and psychological, that lie behind the present tragic position, and the various possibilities of dealing with it.

SOME OF THE CAUSES

From most of the reports received and summarised by the writers of papers, as well as from the discussion that took place upon them, certain main causes of ante-natal and infant mortality persistently emerged. These may be grouped under three heads: Social diseases, economic and social conditions of the parents, and ignorance of hygiene and elementary biology, coupled with the practice of tribal customs and rites. In their incidence these causes to some extent vary in different quarters of the continent; but their recurrence is so universal that the classification made by Miss Earchy of the sixty reports received by her from south Africa may serve as a fairly typical statement of what is happening more or less elsewhere. Forty-one of these reports, she says, place the social diseases first, in this order: Venereal diseases (forty-one reports); tuberculosis (eighteen reports); alcoholism (eighteen reports). Thirty-eight reports draw attention to the low standard of living of the parents in urban areas, as a potent cause.

This low standard manifests itself in (a) inadequate housing, clothing, and feeding, as a result of a lack of a living wage; (b) lack of cleanliness and hygiene. Low wages cause the mother to work when unfit, hence pre-natal care is almost impossible. Over-crowding often results in illegitimate births, sometimes leading to infanticide; or it gives occasion for practices such as contraception or abortion.

“NO WORD IN MY LANGUAGE . . .”

Thirty-eight reports, she continues, give ignorance as another factor in the high death-rate, both that of the native midwives with their anti-hygienic practices, and that of the mothers, showing itself in irrational feeding and carelessness. Twenty-eight reports mention superstitious practices in the same sense, while the final cause, bound up with all the others, is lack of sufficient medical aid. The seven remaining papers presented to the Conference in this section corroborate on general lines in other parts of the continent this classification of the causes in south Africa of the waste of infant life.

Social Diseases.—“There is no word in my language for venereal disease”, said one of the African delegates during the debate on this particular cause of the mortality—a terrible indictment of the white races that is borne out in Emil Torday’s report on central Africa, in which he says, regarding this plague, “there was no such thing in uncivilized Africa, whatever superficial observers may state”. And Dr. Meinulf Küsters, referring to the alleged fact that forty years ago syphilis was unknown in Kampala, says that 90 per cent. here of the still-births are, to-day, ascribed to syphilis, which he calls a scourge introduced by the Europeans and Arabs. “There is an enormous and preventible loss of life from this cause”, writes Dr. Cook, and he adds that two out of every three Buganda mothers attending the Church Missionary Society Hospitals at Mengo—*i.e.*, 66 per cent. of the female population—have had syphilis at one time or another. Both in south Africa and in north Africa (except in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan) the greatest number of still-births and of natural abortions are attributable to syphilis, according to the medical reports. Dr. Blacklock is more cautious with regard to its effect in west Africa, and while mentioning it as an

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undoubted cause of ante-natal mortality, considers that much more systematic investigation is required before we can definitely estimate its place among other causes. Enough evidence of its widespread and fatal consequences was, however, produced at Geneva to furnish the Africans present with considerable material for a retort to subsequent criticisms of the harm resulting from their tribal customs ; while the impartial listener was left to conjecture that some African languages will in future contain a word that did not exist in them before.

Among other diseases fatal to child life, malaria takes a prominent place in some of the reports, notably those dealing with north, central, and south Africa ; and Dr. Laffont calls it the chief cause of pre-natal death in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases are equally fatal in many areas, and are considered the commonest cause of death in Kenya, and also in central Africa where they take the form of pneumonia ; in Morocco, tuberculosis is coupled with gastro-enteritis as the chief scourge. Alcoholism undoubtedly takes its toll of infant life, also. In south Africa, although the sale of foreign intoxicating liquor is forbidden throughout the Union, both Dr. Sechehaye and Miss Earthy report the sale and excessive consumption of contraband liquor and of fermented native wine. Father Guilcher mentions the liquor traffic among the evils that can be traced to European colonization in west Africa, and probably no one will be found to deny this view of its origin, whatever measures may now be taken by the authorities to stop the spread of alcoholism.

Apart from the fatal diseases, among which, by the way, sleeping sickness must also be included in some districts, a multitude of minor complaints appear to contribute



“Y A W S . . . ATTENDED WITH FATAL RESULTS IN
THE CASE OF UNDER-NOURISHED CHILDREN ”

Photograph by courtesy of Dr. Hugh S. Stannus.

FOOD VALUES

to the ill-health and sufferings of the native child in Africa, such as yaws, sometimes confused with syphilis, which are fairly widespread and are attended with fatal results in the case of under-nourished children. Digestive troubles arising from insufficient or wrong feeding are still commoner; a great deal was said at the Conference to this effect. Apart from the malnutrition of mothers with its disastrous effect upon the infant, commented upon by more than one reporter in connection with the low wages of African parents, several speakers dwelt on the general ignorance shown of food values. "The food resources of Africa must be improved if infant deaths are to be reduced", said the Rev. Dr. J. Loiselet, S.J. (professor at Lille University); and an important contribution to this debate was made by the Italian senator and professor, Dr. Umberto Gabbi (Italian Association of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Rome), who dealt in his speech almost entirely with the necessity for making a pathological study in Africa of food values for the child, similar to the study now being carried on in two laboratories that have been founded in Italy for the purpose. A wide gulf is revealed between this ideal of the scientist and the general practice of the less intelligent African mother, who is described in one report as feeding her baby from birth onwards on animal fat, or cooked millet and maize, or bananas, in addition to the mother's milk. Indeed, if the Conference had ever allowed its heart to overrule its head, the physical plight of the African child, as this was gradually revealed in the Salle Centrale, must have tempted the speakers to dissipate their energies in a storm of passion and pity. That this did not happen is probably to be attributed to their determination to get through as much constructive work as possible in the short time before them. The task of

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saving the African child assumed such gigantic proportions as the discussions developed that it left no opportunity for the expression of mere human emotion.

Economic conditions of the parents.—The close connection between the standard of living of the parents and the figures for infant and ante-natal mortality was glaringly obvious from the very beginning of the Conference. Poverty, resulting in the bad housing and overwork of mothers before and after child-birth, was mentioned repeatedly by all classes of speakers as an almost universal factor in the waste of child life in Africa, wherever European settlement had either too crudely detribalized the African people or brought them to the unsatisfactory stage where the tribal organization has gone but the newer civilization has not yet been absorbed, or has been encountered in its worst instead of its best aspects. All the resultant evils, some of which have been already described, react upon the woman in the home and so upon the child. Forced labour, as it exists in more than one area, not only takes the man from his home, sometimes never to return, but may even be imposed upon the woman herself. Emil Torday, saying there is no doubt as to this fact in the Congo, asks how, “deprived of the husband’s strong arm, and overworked, can these women bear children and rear them?”

Where the labour is not, technically speaking, imposed from above, it often becomes virtually compulsory, either because the man has lost his land or because he is heavily over-taxed, and, therefore, has to enter industry and work for wages. In east Africa, for instance, there seems to be a constant drain of man-power to the mines and the plantations for these reasons, and Dr. Küsters draws a vivid picture of the state of the woman, left behind to do a man’s work at home in addition to bringing up her children.

LAND HUNGER

Mrs. W. McGregor Ross (Friends Service Council) held the Europeans largely responsible for the low standard of living in Kenya, the colony she knew best, where the land had been taken from the people, and compensation, even if awarded, was not always paid and was in any case delayed. "We cannot wonder at their low standard of health," she urged, "when their life-blood is being drained away in this manner." Dr. Sechehaye refers more than once in his report on south Africa to the way the Europeans have taken the best land and forced the African natives to move to less productive parts, or herded them into unhealthy locations where they have to work for starvation wages. "This is serfdom in all but name", he quotes them as complaining, and he speaks of many as earning only fifty per cent. of a living wage and of mothers and children who are always underfed. The Rev. A. G. Fraser (principal of Achimota College, and an official British representative of the Gold Coast) also spoke of land hunger, calling it a worse evil than drink and one that is to be traced to the former economic greed of European settlers. "I would rather be responsible for shipping a cargo of whiskey to Africa, than for sending one land speculator there", he declared, adding that the rate of infant mortality is always found to be lower where people are living on their own land. As to pernicious tribal rites, he affirmed that he knew nothing in west Africa to equal the bestiality of the conduct of some fathers to their children in overcrowded London slums.

"If you want to help the African women, stop this over-taxation; then they need not work so hard and neglect their children", bluntly said an east African native delegate. Mr. John Harris (Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society) spent no time in recriminations but

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made a practical speech on taxation and labour, pointing out that if the existing laws were carried into effect in Africa "loyally and thoroughly", the whole social condition of the continent would be transformed. The Africans, he said, were generally ignorant of such legislation as did exist; and he suggested that the Conference should consider how to get the various Governments to enforce the laws that were often passed at home, "for propaganda purposes", and then ignored by the authorities on the spot, and, further, how to make them known in their own language to the African people. For this point of view he claimed, and received, the support of the chairman, Count de Penha Garcia, whose position as member of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, as well as "observer" of the Conference on behalf of the Portuguese Government, rendered his attitude of acquiescence all the more valuable.

As a conclusion to the consideration of this aspect of the subject, and an introduction to that of the third group of circumstances affecting child life in Africa, the following passage may be quoted from a paper read by the late Emil Torday at a preparatory meeting convened in London by the British Committee of the Conference, in February, 1931,* as having a special bearing on the discussion:

Far be it from me to suggest that the African parent needs encouragement to give his child the best care he or she can conceive, but advice on the best methods will be welcomed, though, perhaps, it is not quite as necessary as some well-meaning people, unacquainted with African conditions, or imbued with their own infallibility, may think. There is more wisdom in the African matron's head than they dream in all their philosophy. Let us beware lest, when we speak to her of hygienic reforms, she remind us that forced labour inflicted on adults, the imposed separation of the parents, the

* This paper was published in the *Revue Internationale de l'Enfant* (Geneva), Vol. XI, No. 64, April, 1931, under the title "The Child's Place in African Religions".

THE AFRICAN'S SOUL

privation of the household of the father's strong arm, are responsible for more sterility, miscarriages, and infantile mortality than her ignorance or sometimes irrational kindness. But there is no doubt that there is a great scope for improvement in many directions. Let those who wish to achieve them realise that they will hopelessly fail if they do not take the deeply rooted religious sentiments of the Negro into account and forget that the African's soul, like any chord, vibrates only in sympathy.

CHAPTER III
THE AFRICAN MOTHER

" Nearly all the reports mention the brutal methods used upon the mother ; I can testify myself to the ease with which a confinement becomes a drama in which the life of mother and baby is at stake . . . Impossible to paint the moral and physical sufferings which are involved in a difficult birth among the heathen, and the victim never allows a cry or a complaint to escape her."—DR. SECHEHAYE, *in his report on infant and ante-natal mortality in south Africa*.

" Hygiene is non-existent. The treatment at confinements is archaic, aggravated by a thousand superstitions and generally dangerous."—DR. LAFFONT, *ibid.*, *in north Africa*.

" No one to-day would dream of questioning the deep religious nature of the black man. But his religion is far from having kept its original purity, it is encumbered with a mass of superstitious practices, of magical rites . . . which create in the matter under discussion a particularly dangerous and obstructive factor, since it submits the mother and child to barbarous practices threatening the health of the former and the life of the latter."—FATHER GUILCHER, *ibid.*, *in west Africa*.

" Our first aim must be not to *repress* the mistaken religious ideas of the natives, but to *transform* them. Then will disappear infanticide, the terrible fear of magic, which costs thousands of lives, as well as their deep dislike and suspicion of what is new and strange ; then one can begin to be really helpful."—DR. KÜSTERS, *ibid.*, *in east Africa*.

" Here, therefore, we must work in close co-operation with the anthropologists, to whom we must look for information with regard to those tribal customs and their significance."—DR. BLACKLOCK, *ibid.*, *in west Africa*.

CHAPTER III

THE AFRICAN MOTHER

IN EXAMINING THE ECONOMIC DISABILITIES of the African parent, the Conference incidentally disclosed something of the burden that falls upon African mothers owing to their low standard of living. According to many of the accounts given, these women are underfed, housed in wretched huts, work long hours in the fields, and carry heavy loads for many miles, more like "beasts of burden" than human beings, says one reporter. Even under better conditions, their houses are commonly unhygienic and inconvenient, situated far from medical aid and in districts where there is often a shortage of water. "How can people be hygienic who lack water?" asks Miss Earthy, and she goes on to say: "I have known women who have had to walk five miles before dawn to fetch water, every day, or every other day, and then have to do hard manual work in the fields, and household work after that."

But these things were seen to be due to conditions that press also upon the African woman's husband and are dependent to a considerable extent upon the actions and policies, past and present, of European administrators. The third group of causes to which infant and ante-natal mortality were ascribed—ignorance of elementary hygiene and biology coupled with injurious tribal practices and customs surrounding childbirth—revealed at the Conference a mass of physical suffering that falls entirely upon the mother and her infant, or upon the girl who is being initiated into womanhood, the responsibility for which must be sought primarily in the ancient beliefs of the Africans themselves.

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The tendency to blame the mother for ignorance is not confined to those who are interested in African children ; it may still be met with in our own civilized circles, where it often seems easier to find a scapegoat than to seek the basic reasons for social evils. Fortunately, the majority of those who took part in the Geneva Conference were well aware of the need for a more sympathetic approach to the problem, and, in addition, knew how to distinguish between harmful practices based upon want of scientific knowledge and those that spring from religious convictions.

WASTE OF CHILD LIFE CONSEQUENT UPON IGNORANCE AND ARCHAIC BELIEFS

The former are serious enough in their consequences. The African baby is often subjected to such severe observances that it does not survive the first hours of life ; among these are the customary practice of giving the new-born child quantities of water to drink, " to make the stomach big ", of not allowing the mother to feed it for the first three or four days, and keeping both shut up in a dark hut for seven days (west Africa) ; of cutting the baby's face with a razor to relieve teething troubles (north Africa) ; cutting the umbilical cord with dirty instruments, dressing it with earth and causing tetanus with fatal results (central and west Africa) ; giving the new-born infant powdered dog's bone and putting a lizard in the baby's water gourd, in order that it may imbibe the strength of a dog and the agility of the lizard (the Va Lenge tribe in east Africa). Many infant deaths result also from the early marriage of the mother, and from sexual excess during pregnancy arising from the belief that this nourishes the child. Of course, ignorance concerning everyday details of hygiene is not always confined to the native

MAGIC IN CHILDBIRTH

African woman, as Dr. Agnes Fraser (Mrs. Donald Fraser) hinted when she observed that she might herself share the prejudice of the latter against open windows if at any moment during the night a leopard might leap indoors.

Tribal customs based on religious beliefs raise, however, a more sinister and a more complex problem, and appear to involve even greater physical anguish and danger to life. Under this heading comes, first, infanticide, practised for various superstitious reasons: in the case of twins, of illegitimacy and of premature birth, in that of an infant born when the eldest child is not yet weaned, or of an infant born blind or deformed, or of one who cuts his upper teeth before the lower, or whose mother dies at delivery, all these phenomena being considered bad omens and therefore necessitating the removal of a threat to the well-being of the tribe. The sufferings of the mother at childbirth are increased tenfold, should complications arise, by the absence of obstetrical aid; and when the latter occur they are attributed to evil spirits and sometimes to the previous misconduct of the mother, who often succumbs to the ill-treatment given to her to make her confess something of which she is not guilty. Terribly painful accounts are given, especially in the reports on south and east Africa, concerning these sufferings of the mother at the hands of the old village women who act as midwives, to say nothing of the results in both maternal and infant mortality. Among tribes living under the matriarchal system in east Africa, Dr. Küsters informs us, the woman with child is given greater consideration, from religious, not hygienic motives, and the baby is therefore born under healthier conditions. At Geneva, a grim illustration of the facts revealed at the Conference was provided in some of the exhibits showing primitive

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methods of delivery in Africa, that formed part of the excellent little exhibition provided jointly by the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and the Church Missionary Society.

THE RITE OF CIRCUMCISION

Customs involving self-mutilation in the name of adornment, such as cutting the front teeth and slashing the face, were also mentioned at the Conference, but did not occupy its attention long as not affecting mothers or young children. The contrary being true, however, of the rite of female circumcision (which is known to be practised in some areas and to cause great suffering and often sepsis as well, besides producing in girls physical complications of serious effect later in marriage and child-birth), more time was given to the consideration of this subject, and it provoked some difference of opinion among the delegates. No one disputed the main facts, or questioned the desirability of the eventual abolition of this particular rite, or at all events, of its more objectionable features. On its relative importance among the numerous causes of infant mortality, opinion was divided. Miss A. E. Brown (member of the Scottish Standing Committee of the National Council of Women in Kenya) considered emphatically that female circumcision, as she had herself witnessed it on one occasion administered to young girls in Kenya, was the principal cause of infant mortality there; but this did not appear to be the view of the other delegates, who included among them several medical men and women, some with long years of African experience. The general opinion seemed rather to be that already advanced

THE NEED FOR TACT

by Dr. Blacklock in regard to other admitted causes of maternal and infant mortality, namely, that much more scientific investigation is required before priority can be assigned to any one source.

The great majority present were also agreed upon the need for tact and caution in approaching the African tribes themselves with a view to the abolition of the practice. Dr. Hungerford, an official British delegate from the Gold Coast, where he has lived and practised since 1903, emphasized in his speech the danger of trying to make violent changes too quickly ; Dr. Agnes Fraser, mentioning her twenty-four years' work in Africa, discussed the Duchess of Atholl's suggestion that an urgent appeal should be made to the chiefs on the subject, and pointed out that this would be useless without the co-operation of the women of the tribes, who were accustomed to managing their own affairs and were extremely jealous of their rights. "We have enough respect for the African women to know that we can do nothing without their help", she explained ; "and it is worth while to take a little time over making a foundation of friendship before seeking to alter things ; this may be more tiresome than drastic action, but it is more effective in the long run."

Professor Labouret confirmed Dr. Fraser's opinion of African women, and, repudiating the description of them in one of the reports as "beasts of burden"—the difference of outlook here is probably explained by the difference of locality and race in the tribes that the commentators had in mind—spoke of their fine independence of action and deprecated the kind of approach to such questions made by some Europeans, who looked upon Africans as people necessarily to be saved and themselves as the

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saviours. He agreed here with Father Guilcher, who declared in his report on west Africa that it was useless to assail superstitious customs, however deleterious, by administrative action, as they could be effectively approached only by moral force and by the substitution of something better than the ceremony attacked; this method, he affirmed positively, was essential if the natural religious nature of the African was to be preserved. Mr. Johnstone Kenyatta urged in the same spirit that such customs as female circumcision should be carefully studied before they were wholly condemned; and he added the useful piece of information that, in his part of Kenya, where an attempt had been made to prohibit this rite, the result had been to keep girls from attending the schools, "and that is a set-back to education in my country".

Dr. A. R. Paterson (official representative of Kenya Colony, and deputy-director of sanitary services there) might have had this African point of view in his mind when, in the course of a later speech on the unhygienic conditions and low economic position of people living in the rural parts of Kenya Colony, he said: "These are the important causes of infant mortality, not the moral questions. If I dealt with the latter I should begin by trying to teach the African that at one time his customs and habits had a moral sanction and were originally built up on that basis." Of all the speeches on this subject none was of greater weight and enlightenment, however, than the contribution made by Captain Rattray, the anthropologist appointed by the British Government to the Gold Coast—only the second appointment of the kind in Africa,* and the same colony is the only one that has so far sent an African to England to be trained as an

* Southern Nigeria was the first colony to have an official anthropologist.

THE SCIENTIFIC VIEW

anthropologist. He began by announcing that a memorandum had been sent home from the northern part of his territory advocating the abolition of female circumcision, but then went on to inform the Conference that the rite was nevertheless, in African eyes, the greatest incentive to pre-marital chastity, and that every girl looked forward to it as proving her moral fitness for marriage before the whole tribe. This fact in itself showed the difficulty in the way of attacking such customs. In the last session of the Conference he again referred to this matter, stating that, in spite of the threat he considered its abolition would offer to pre-nuptial chastity, he felt it should be stopped, though not bluntly forbidden. Sympathetic and enlightened chiefs, he thought, might be asked to meet missionaries, administrators, and other interested people, in order to come to some agreement that would make it possible for the Government officially to forbid its practice, after which, girls who wished to avoid it could shelter behind the authorities. The Duchess of Atholl, in her speech on the first day of the Conference, had suggested that girls should, if they wished, be enabled to make a statutory declaration of their unwillingness to undergo the process, and that legal protection should be forthcoming in the event of their wanting to escape it.

The combined weight of so many missionaries, administrators and scientists in favour of approaching this difficult question with sympathy and understanding saved the Conference from being stampeded on the subject, while keeping the delegates alive to the urgency of it and accentuating the need for education as the best means of combating superstition in all its forms. The debate on tribal customs was considerably lightened by a speech made by Dr. A. N. Tucker (linguistic expert, Sudan

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Government) who very humorously pointed out the analogy between certain acts of self-mutilation for purposes of adornment, and some of the practices of more enlightened communities with the same end in view. It was true, he agreed, that the tribal marks cut in a pattern on the forehead of boys of the Nuer tribe at adolescence sometimes resulted in the severing of a vein and the death of the boy ; but then, no girl would look at a boy in that tribe who did not show this sign of manhood. Similarly, the lower incisors were taken out in some tribes because their absence, too, was considered a mark of great beauty. But, he asked, what about duelling in Germany, and tight-lacing in England and elsewhere, to say nothing of the indiscriminate removal of tonsils, when this was the medical fashion of the moment ? A more serious note in his speech was sounded, however, in the ominous piece of information that male circumcision came into the southern Sudan (among one of the Dinka tribes) about four years ago, probably from the north, and it was said that female circumcision was likely to follow.

REMEDIES—SUGGESTED AND IN BEING

But the Conference was nothing if not practical, and the collection and presentation of material, all through the two sessions that dealt with the waste of child life, were accompanied in every case by a strenuous effort to find remedies for the evils disclosed. Some of the suggestions were more sweeping than others. The enumeration of many of the preventible sufferings and disabilities of African mothers and their children went far to explain, whether it justified or not, the warm denunciation by Mr. Mitra G. Sinanan (League of Coloured Peoples, London) of what he called “ the ruthless and relentless exploitation

COLOUR PREJUDICE

of Africa, carried out by British, French, Portuguese, and other capitalists, aided by their Governments", which he asserted to be the principal cause of infant mortality, the only remedy for which, in his opinion, was self-determination and self-government for the African people. The rest of the proposals that emanated from the Conference offered, however, more immediate prospects of attainment.

It was only to be expected that in the reports submitted to the Conference, as well as in the speeches made, a demand should be made for the extension of the health services everywhere, for the establishment of more hospitals, more maternity centres and dispensaries, for more nurses both men and women, more midwives both European and African, more health teaching in the schools, and more medical training schools for African doctors. Some delegates stressed particularly the need of women doctors in Islamic communities, others that of native African doctors to combat the influence of the witch doctor, though Dr. Sechehaye mentions in his paper that one obstacle to the provision of qualified African doctors exists in the colour prejudice that will not allow them to take a medical degree in the universities of South Africa. The need for trained midwives of African race, able to compete with the old village women whose archaic methods are based on the assumption that the phenomena of childbirth have a magical and not a biological origin, was reiterated continually throughout the Conference, especially by those health workers who knew from experience the tragic results of leaving the African mother to these ignorant ministrations in districts that, at present, are not touched by scientific aids, or where the health services are understaffed. In this connection the defective quality of girls' and women's education in Africa was frequently mentioned,

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as a preliminary to the fuller discussion of the matter under Question III.

With regard to hospitals, an interesting point was made by Dr. Küsters, who advocated the payment of a small sum by the patients, saying, in support of his contention, that this made the latter attach greater value to the medical aid they received, also that in the Ndanda Hospital, where payment is exacted, as many as 6,000 had shown themselves willing to apply for treatment on this understanding. A racial obstacle to hospital treatment in maternity cases was revealed by Dr. Blacklock, who related that in west Africa, where birth is an important tribal event attended by many ceremonies, time spent in the hospital, or in modern midwifery methods, sometimes interfered with these customs and made the hospital system unpopular. This accentuated, she remarked, the need for co-operation with the anthropologists, by whose aid the hospital regulations and treatment by the midwives could be adapted "to the needs and feelings of the people whom they are meant to benefit".

On the pathological side of the question the Conference was naturally agreed in the main as to the remedies proposed, and the discussion of these never became controversial. On the economic and social side this was less likely to be the case, and there is little doubt that, had Emil Torday's paper on central Africa been discussed, as it would certainly have been if he had lived to present it himself, some difference of opinion would have been revealed. In support of the reforms necessary for the preservation of child life, this writer begins with a frank exposition of the exploitation of the peoples of African race in that part of the continent, to which reference has already been made in connection with the forced

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labour and land hunger of the parents. First and foremost he places the need in the Belgian Congo for the King, Parliament and people of Belgium to put their house in order "and create a new atmosphere of social justice", by developing this great dependency "with a view to the future and not for immediate profit". To this end long-term contracts must be abolished and no man ought to be taken for more than three months from his family and tribe. This will do away with two evils; detribalization and the transfer of people to distant regions where climatic conditions and difference of nutrition will affect their vitality. It will decrease infantile mortality by saving the mothers from overwork and penury.

SOCIAL REFORMS

This paper contains the only really serious indictment, from the political point of view, of any European Government, that was brought before the Conference, and it was not discussed. Indirectly, of course, European administration was shown to be responsible for many of the social and economic disabilities of the African races that affect maternity and child welfare; but the delegates were there primarily to find remedies and decide upon an agreed course of action for the future, not to apportion praise or blame. Two speeches stood out as especially constructive on the social side. One was by Dr. Agnes Fraser, who gave a delightful description of what could be done by hard work in a very poor area to alter the social condition of the people. She had known men, she said, who had raised their whole standard of life by building a two- or three-roomed house in place of a mud cottage.

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In her own area, while there was no money, there was leisure, and she and her husband encouraged the Africans to make their own bricks and build better houses for themselves, also to cultivate their gardens and grow more varieties of vegetables and fruit. Further, by showing them how to dam a stream, they had saved the women from walking six miles to fetch water and waiting for hours while it silted through sand. As a result of practical work of this kind, they had not only reduced the mortality rate from seventy to twenty-five per cent., but were raising the whole standard of living among the men and of intelligence among the women.

Dr. Paterson was equally constructive. While considering that education was the first requirement in the attack upon infant mortality, he thought that the next thing to do was to raise the African's standard of living by securing him an adequate income, and then getting him into a well-built house near a water supply, teaching him to rear chickens and so on, thus showing him what a homestead should be. There should be, in addition, a well-equipped hospital in every district as a matter of course, for the object to be kept in view was rather the maintenance of a high standard of population than of a numerous population, though both were important; this standard should be set as high as possible and then kept before the African. Naturally he advocated trained women nurses—only women could nurse or teach nursing!—and women doctors were good, though not necessarily better than men doctors, he thought, except in Mohammedan communities.

Miss Earthy, stressing in her report the importance of training more midwives of African race, suggests that these should be over forty and if possible widows, in order



“ EDUCATION . . . THE FIRST REQUIREMENT IN THE ATTACK
UPON INFANT MORTALITY ”

A group of mothers taught hygiene and mothercraft by
Dr. Agnes Fraser.

Photograph by courtesy of Mrs. Charles Stuart.

[Dr. Fraser explains: The women standing have been pounding grain in the mortars (right) hollowed out of tree trunks, using logs (seen in their hands) as pounders. They raise the logs in both hands with a swinging movement from the hips. The woman in the foreground holds a flat basket in which, with a quick, tossing and emptying movement, she separates the flour from the husk. She wears large lead disks in her pierced ears, the cut lobe being the tribal mark of the Ngoni.]

CONSTRUCTIVE REFORMS

to compete more successfully with the village midwives, who are always old and always married. She, too, appeals for an intensive ethnological study for the better understanding of the African and his specific needs, and for the encouragement of the Christian missions, "which have always been the pioneers of both medical and moral advance among the different tribal groups".

Other suggestions of a constructive nature were scattered throughout the debates at all the sessions of the Conference, but the chief lines along which it was proposed that reforms should proceed have been indicated in this brief summary. Accounts of health services and attempts to establish a better understanding with the African peoples, and so to combat their want of scientific knowledge where child life is concerned, are to be found in all the papers presented to the Conference under the heading of infant mortality, and were in many cases given personally by administrators, mission workers, midwives, and doctors, engaged actively in health work on the spot. One inference that might have been drawn from all these reports was that the districts in which the greatest amount of health work is being carried out are those under British administration; but this impression may have been conveyed, or certainly strengthened, by the fact that the British Government was the only one that attached sufficient importance to the Conference to send an adequate delegation to Geneva. In any case, however, the British delegates present would probably have been the last to admit that they were satisfied with what is being done in British possessions in Africa to wage war against the terrible waste of child life and the unnecessary suffering of mothers that the Conference revealed.

CHAPTER IV
THE AFRICAN CHILD AT SCHOOL

"Is it possible to lay down any guiding rules that would be equally suitable for the raw untouched native of the Bushveld or Kalahari, for the scattered farm labourers, and the street urchins of Johannesburg? The one thing certain is that in South Africa one cannot think of blacks and whites as apart from one another . . . European civilization with all its new discoveries has gripped Africa, and conditions are changing from day to day . . . In discussing, therefore, the education of the African child we have to bear in mind these new conditions and to consider not only what would be the best training for a member of a Bantu tribe, but what would best help that member to play a man's part in a great community of many races."—MISS A. M. H. DU BOULAY (*former inspector of education under the Transvaal Government*), in her *report on education in south Africa*.

"Do not let us build upon sand nor yet neglect our foundations. To get good workers we must first make good men, and to get good men we must first have well-educated children."—FATHER H. M. DUBOIS, S.J. (*former missionary in Madagascar and Secretary of the Union of African Missions in Rome*), *ibid.*, in *east Africa*.

"In Africa every European is a teacher, from the Governor to the poorest colonist. Each one of them is watched and imitated by the Natives."—MONSIEUR E. ROBERT (*inspector of schools in the Cameroons, for the Paris Evangelical Missions*), *ibid.*, in *west Africa*.

"Our aim should be to educate the African for himself, not for any use he may be to other races."—MRS. MCGREGOR ROSS (*Friends Service Council*), at the *Geneva Conference—morning session, June 24, 1931*.

"Education in the broadest sense will remove many of the evils from which African children suffer, if we recognise that the African has a soul as well as a body . . . Moral teaching is all the more important now that primal culture is breaking down before European culture. What is needed is an endless patience inspired by a great love."—THE REV. HENRI A. JUNOD (*Swiss Mission in South Africa; president of the International Bureau for the Protection of Native Races and author of "The Life of a South African Tribe", etc.*), *ibid.*, on *June 24, 1931*.

CHAPTER IV

THE AFRICAN CHILD AT SCHOOL

THROUGHOUT THE FIRST TWO SESSIONS of the Geneva Conference the urgent need for adult and adolescent education, chiefly technical and scientific, with a view to enabling Africans themselves to reduce the child mortality rate, was brought persistently to the notice of the delegates, although the questions before them were nominally pathological and economic. The ground was, therefore, prepared for the discussion of the third question on the programme—education in regard to the preparation of children for life—upon which the Conference entered at its morning session on Wednesday, June 24. This debate had one characteristic in common with all debates on education; everybody had a great deal to say and was burning to say it. Some attempt was made to keep it within bounds by discussing the different localities separately, a plan that had not been adopted earlier. But, although some marked divergencies were naturally revealed both in the requirements and the supply of educational facilities in various parts of Africa, certain characteristics involving general principles emerged repeatedly from the reports and the speeches. There was the question of language, for one, which, involving as it did psychological elements deeper than any mere decision on the comparative value of the use of the vernacular and of a European language in text-books, roused some controversy. There was the question of the colour bar, which could not possibly be excluded from any consideration of policy in Africa. And there was the question of finance, with which we are familiar in every civilized country when

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education budgets become prominent, but which assumes special aspects of its own in a continent like Africa, where money is urgently needed for every kind of public service and social reform, where the non-European does not always see the money that is taken from him in taxes used for his benefit, and where the average person, of whatever race he may be, attaches no greater importance to education, as such, than he does in any other part of the world.

The Rev. Henri A. Junod, who presided at this session, knit together very skilfully the main threads of the subject, in his opening address. Africa, he said, unlike Asia, was not opposed to the inrush of European civilization and was, therefore, ready for education, since education was the only force capable of eliminating what was bad in our civilization, and of enabling the African to distinguish the good. (In this he appeared to agree with Dr. A. R. Cook, who, in the opening session of the Conference, had declared the present to be the psychological moment for helping Africa because conditions there are plastic, and everything is ripe for progress along the right lines.) Indicating three possible lines of advance for educationists, M. Junod rejected alike the extremists who tend to repress African culture altogether and to substitute for it one that is exclusively European, and those who hold the directly opposite view that the black and white races are equal in every respect and so a complete fusion between the two cultures is possible; and he suggested a compromise that should recognize differences that do exist and, at the same time, search for points of contact.

This policy of what he called differentiation and collaboration could be applied, for instance, to the question of language. The African's language was the treasury of

CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

his thought and culture and helped him to retain his individuality ; it was, therefore, important that he should not lose it. On the other hand, in many districts children came to school solely in order to train themselves for the purpose of obtaining a post later, and on this account he differed slightly from the policy advocated by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, which aims at giving children text-books exclusively in their own language for the first three years of education, and he proposed, instead, that even during these years a little instruction in a European language should be given in places where the children looked forward to earning their living in trade or in business, though he held very strongly that the beauty of the African language and folklore must never be lost sight of. As to curriculum, this, too, was largely a question of adaptation to the economic and social conditions surrounding the child. In rural districts, for example, education must certainly be agricultural in character. In backward areas, the mind under the influence of magic would call for special instruction in the elements of science ; in every case, religious and moral teaching assumed the greater importance as soon as the primitive beliefs began to be undermined.

THE AFRICAN'S LANGUAGE

This suggestive opening address set the tone for the whole session on education. The main points made by the chairman were taken up, some of them having been also indicated in the papers presented on the subject. On the subject of language there was really not much disagreement, for both reporters and speakers dwelt chiefly on difficulties that were indisputable, the chief of these being the late

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age at which African children begin to attend school—not until ten years of age at the earliest, in north Africa, according to Father Joyeux (one of the White Fathers and managing director of the Society for Moral Assistance to North African Natives); and at that age, he says in his report, their chief concern is to learn a European language for the reasons already mentioned by the chairman. This reporter was of opinion that the teaching of a foreign language to African children would not be regarded as a sign of white domination because of its evident purpose. If there were more schools it would be possible to conduct the younger children's education entirely in the vernacular, as is done in the elementary schools of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; but, although some districts in north Africa are fairly well provided with schools—that is, in Tripoli, Egypt, and Tangiers, while the position in Algiers is improving—this cannot be said of the whole of the area.

Miss Du Boulay, in her written survey of education in south Africa, mentions the requirement of the Code that the language of instruction in the sub-standards shall be the mother tongue; but, she adds: "What about teachers and text-books?" The scarcity of good books in any African language was again referred to later in the debate by Miss Wrong (International Commission on Literature for Africa), who, dealing with the wider question of leisure, mentioned the kind of literature supplied by her association, and commented on the number of literate people now being turned out in Africa who have great difficulty in finding anything good to read. "Is there nothing more amusing for us to read about than the treatment of leprosy in the Bible?" was a typical question put to her by one African student. Mr. P. E. Mitchell (official British representative of Tanganyika Territory,

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

and Secretary for Native Affairs there) made the interesting announcement that, in Tanganyika, a monthly paper is published by the Government in the vernacular, filled with matter of general interest.

That the language problem bristles with difficulties is accentuated in Miss Du Boulay's report, where she mentions that there are eight different dialects in northern Transvaal alone, and "if a man preaches in the Rand he has four different interpreters, and even then, some will not understand". The same is true of west Africa, where, according to M. Robert's report, there are hundreds of dialects. Some of his correspondents, he says, suggested that a way out could be found in selecting one or two of the principal dialects and making them official, because there is a certain amount of similarity between them and it is easier for an African to learn another dialect than to learn a European language. At the same time, he admits that if ninety-nine per cent. of the children in west Africa were asked why they come to school, they would reply that they are there to learn French or English so that they may earn good wages later on. Still, however, he believes that, while some children might leave if instruction were given in the mother tongue, many others would be induced to come to school by this change in the curriculum.

M. Robert presented his own paper in a speech that showed him to be a true educationist. The blacks, he asserted, were as capable of being educated as the whites, but no man should be called educated merely because he can speak two foreign languages. The purpose of education is to make the complete man, and complete men are badly needed in Africa to-day. Language in his view played a large part in the African's development, and for this reason, that the contact between the two civilizations

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had been abrupt, and if the white civilization was to be properly assimilated by the mass and not only by a few individuals, education must proceed slowly and methodically, a process that could be aided by the use of the vernacular. Critics, he added, who complained of the poverty of the dialects had clearly not studied them, for the fact that the Bible could be translated into them with the addition of very few foreign words proved their richness. He favoured the Institute policy of teaching wholly in the native language for the first three years of primary education, after which the two tongues could be used equally. During the discussion of this question the place of Swahili in the schools was also brought up, but the general trend of argument seemed to indicate that, while Swahili might be used with advantage in some text-books, it would never as a language express the African's soul as his own language did.

THE COLOUR QUESTION

One of the points made by M. Robert in regard to the use of African dialects, especially by Europeans, was that this would encourage the approach of one race to the other and strengthen the prestige of the whites, which was tending to diminish, certainly in west Africa, where they were often careless in their behaviour, not realising how closely they were observed by the African people. The colour question, however, appeared to be more acute in south Africa, several speakers referring to colour-bar legislation there that discouraged native Africans from sending their children to school, because they would afterwards be shut out from posts for which they were qualified, a professional disability, by the way, which M. Robert mentions in his report as applying to educated Africans on the Gold Coast,

THE FACTOR OF FEAR

many of whom, after training as doctors and lawyers, are unable to find posts and go to swell a crowd of malcontents that offer a real threat to the future of the colony. That part of his paper criticising an educational system which has crudely separated the African from his native culture without preparing him to assimilate European civilization at its best, is a revelation of the disastrous effects of detribalization in this part of Africa, which are dwelt upon by Emil Torday in his report of central Africa, as well as in the papers presented to the Conference on south Africa.

Miss Du Boulay, in her references to colour prejudice in south Africa, attributes this on the European's side largely to fear—"One has to remember that the parents and grandparents of the men and women of to-day lived in peril of their lives from native raids", she says in her report; but she none the less deplores the Colour Bar Act, though she thinks it cannot remain in force, being an attempt to stem progress by Act of Parliament, "which is impossible". To illustrate the ludicrous results in the schools of this kind of legislation, she tells the story of a teacher, who, acting on the regulation, "No school shall receive a grant unless practical training in industry with sufficient plant is given", ordered a printing-press. Before it arrived, the Government passed a law enacting that "no school which trains pupils in trades in which they might compete with Europeans shall receive a grant"! The natural comment is Miss Du Boulay's own question—"What industry then may be taught?" Another south African delegate, Miss C. E. Parker (diocese of Johannesburg), asked similarly "where all this education is leading to", if the colour bar is to prevent the Africans from gaining posts when they are trained.

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Even in south Africa, however, where the prejudice is most marked, it is being assailed. Miss Du Boulay reports the successful co-operation with Africans in the education systems of Southern Rhodesia, a self-governing British colony, where the Jeanes scheme of native African supervisors has been adopted, and also in Transkei, a Cape Province native reservation, which she calls "the bright spot in the history of South Africa"; she speaks, too, of the special teaching staff in Cape Province and Natal, with its "chief inspectors who loved the natives", though, she adds regretfully, "unfortunately politics have an effect on appointments"; and further, of the African Wayfarers and Pathfinders, with their white leaders who "are learning to know and to love their patrols", though it does not appear from her report, nor did Mrs. Patrick Duncan (national president, Girls' Wayfarers Association of South Africa) state in her interesting account of these corps, which were started eight years ago and bear some similarity to the Girl Guides, whether Europeans and non-Europeans are mingled either in the leaders or in the patrols.

In other parts of Africa, colour prejudice may be less acute, but that it exists was suggested in a vigorous appeal made by Mrs. McGregor Ross for the inclusion of educated Africans on all education boards; and Miss Casely-Hayford, a Sierra Leonean, in a speech on education in her own country, openly regretted the social inequality of the two races that was maintained there, and said that the present education scheme, though excellent on paper, does not cure the inferiority complex thus planted in the African child. But in her speech, which was one of the most helpful made during this session because it was constructive as well as critical and expressed the educated African's

A GREAT EXPERIMENT

point of view, she called also for the provision of more cultural subjects in the secondary schools, to render the education less narrow and more international in its appeal, and for more arts and crafts in the curriculum. An African teacher from the same colony, Dr. J. W. de Graft Johnson (National Congress of British West Africa, Sierra Leone branch), was rather disappointingly destructive in a speech that criticised the whites severely for having provided an education that was far too material in character for a people so spiritual as the Africans. "You have not yet educated one of our children", he said accusingly.

The Geneva Conference was full of contrasts, and a vivid one to the last speech and, indeed, to all that had been said of colour prejudice during the morning, was afforded in Principal A. G. Fraser's account of Achimota College. Unfortunately, space does not allow of a full description here of this extraordinarily interesting and successful experiment in inter-racial understanding as well as in the newer education of to-day. Founded originally as an education research institute, and still functioning as such, the college provides education for both sexes from the kindergarten age of three-and-a-half up to that of twenty-two. The staff consists of fourteen Europeans and seventeen Africans, all of whom enjoy absolute equality, which is also true of the members of both races that compose the governing body. The aim of the education given is, in Mr. Fraser's own words, to use the love of the African child for the tribe and translate that into service for the community; and all its activities, day and night schools, practical hygiene taught by means of health weeks organised in dirty villages, exchange of visits with other schools, conferences for parents, lectures in economics for adults engaged in trade and marketing, and many other enlightened

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projects, show Achimota College to be, not merely a model for African education, but one that might well serve to kindle enthusiasm for education in many so-called progressive communities elsewhere.

African delegates inclined to criticize European methods in the schools were reminded by one speaker that but for the early mission schools there would be no schools at all in Africa to-day. And a good deal of evidence was forthcoming at the Conference of the valiant efforts made both by private organizations and by Governments in Africa to meet the growing demand for education in most parts of the continent. In addition to reports already mentioned, Father Vanderhoven (Scheut Fathers, Brussels) records the educational work of the missions in the Belgian Congo—he does not touch on the rest of central Africa—and considers there might be enough schools in existence here if more trained teachers, especially of African races, were forthcoming. He outlines a comprehensive scheme of education for the Congo, beginning with the primary schools and working up to technical schools and apprentice workshops. As two real obstacles to education, he speaks of the hostility of the parents (this is also mentioned in M. Robert's report of west Africa) and of child labour on the plantation.

In lamenting the insufficiency both of schools and of teachers in east Africa, Father Dubois takes a view that was expressed by a good many of the delegates when he suggests that the children should not have to wait for education until a sufficient number of well-staffed schools and highly-qualified teachers are available; much use could be made in rural areas, he thinks, of parents as vocational teachers both in the home and the fields, and of other local resources in the way of men and women

THE BUSH SCHOOLS

who are able to read and write and do sums, also to teach simple practical subjects, such as sewing, and market-gardening and agricultural pursuits. This bears out the opinion of several speakers who defended the bush schools in the same sense. The Rev. A. Williams (Kenya and Uganda), who thought missionaries were in some danger of being carried away on a wave of anthropology and forgetting the importance of the spiritual appeal to the African, also considered that too much stress was being laid on the academic qualifications of both European and non-European instructors.

SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN

The debate was punctuated throughout with complaints of the shortage of educational facilities, two striking instances of which were given, both, as it happened, in reference to south Africa, where Miss Parker reported having seen a teacher trying to deal single-handed with a class of 180 children, while Miss Du Boulay drew the startling conclusion from figures that appeared to her trustworthy, that only about twenty-five per cent. of native children in the Union of South Africa go to school at all, of whom only three per cent. ever pass beyond the elementary stage. It was conceded without opposition that this insufficiency of staff and schools was most noticeable everywhere in the case of girls' education. Not enough distinction is ever drawn between true education and mere instruction, Professor Gabbi urged, but it is a distinction more readily understood by the mother than by anybody else; therefore, African women must be educated. This was already realised by African men, said

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Miss Brackett (International Institute of African Languages and Cultures), and she reminded the Conference opportunely that the African witnesses, who had recently given evidence before the Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa, in London, had more especially urged the need of education for their women.

“ Education must begin in the homes with the mothers ”, said Miss Alexander, R.R.C. (South African National Council for Child Welfare), and from another point of view, Mrs. Cook, out of her many years of work among the African women, represented that it was chiefly through the mothers that not only home standards could be improved, but also harmful superstitions could be assailed. A fine tribute was paid to the African women and their powers of leadership by Mrs. Owen (Kenya), who had lived among them for thirty years in east Africa and spoke of the “ wonderful material we have in them ”. She went on to expatiate on the readiness of those who held high positions in their tribes to be of use in raising the standard of east African family life. “ Women who have been prominent as witch doctors or princesses are anxious to come out and help their fellow women ”, she said ; “ they want education, though it must, of course, be the kind that suits them and their particular way of living.” This speaker also pointed out that, African education being traditionally the men’s business in the tribe, it would not be easy for the women at first to take a hand in it, but if schools could be established for adolescent girls and older women at hours that did not interfere with their domestic and agricultural tasks, and if hygiene appropriate to the way that African families live could be taught in them, great benefits to the children would ensue. An example of the practical application of Mrs. Owen’s

MUSIC AND DANCE

proposals is provided in the south African report, by the following account of a domestic science course carried out by Miss Waters, a school supervisor in Southern Rhodesia who was brought up on a mission station in the Transkei and, therefore, has an intimate knowledge of African life and manners :

She set herself the task of training the African women to be as efficient home-makers as the best Europeans—not as feeble imitators, but in their own environment. A model hut is built in the industrial school compound and all the household instruction is given there. Native utensils are used wherever possible—clean little bits of stick for beating up eggs, for example. A special point is made of invalid cookery and the care of the babies. A few picked girls are put into a special class for training as teachers, nurses, supervisors, etc., and as intelligent wives for Natives in responsible positions. This last is considered most urgent.

In the matter of the curriculum in African schools generally, the Conference was as eloquent as such assemblies of enthusiasts commonly are. Most of the reports contain good model schemes, drawn up with reference to the environment—rural, urban, nomadic, and so on—of the children and to the occupation they are likely to enter after leaving school ; also, some stress the importance of religious as well as scientific teaching, so that, as Father Dubois accentuates, their old beliefs should not be taken from them without leaving them something to put in their place. On the cultural side, Miss Du Boulay and Dr. Tucker both emphasized the educational value implied in the African's love of music. The latter hoped that African music would not be universally replaced by European music, nor all the African dances and children's singing games, of which he had made a collection in the Sudan, be similarly superseded. Why should not girls and boys dance those of their own dances which were beautiful and could be danced socially, in the mission stations ? Yet his proposal that they should do so had been met by

THE AFRICAN CHILD

one mission teacher with the surprised rejoinder—"But our boys play football; what more can they want?" African boys, said Dr. Tucker, probably wanted much more, to say nothing of the girls. At one Roman Catholic mission school he had, however, found the children performing their own singing games, and at two other missions he had heard hymns sung to African tunes with beautiful effect; these were proofs of the success of encouraging the children to take pride in their own racial treasures. Mr. Rennie Smith, M.P., (African Society, London) made an eloquent appeal for more individual and less mass teaching, from the evils of which he had himself suffered in childhood, and for quality rather than quantity in the African schools; and he threw out a suggestion for the use of films, especially in the bush schools, as a possible aid to cultural development.

But the curriculum, also, depends upon the finance; and when, after more than one speaker had deplored the lack of sufficient Government grants to supplement private effort or initiate fresh education schemes, Mr. John Harris made one of his breezy and opportune interventions in the debate to insist that taxation and education should go hand in hand and that all direct taxation of African people should be devoted to African welfare, he received the heartiest round of applause that had yet been accorded to any speech. His attractive account of a successful allocation of local taxation in this direction, which had actually been carried out by Sir Hubert Murray in Papua, lent considerable point to his contention. The further suggestion made by Father Joyeux in his paper, that an appeal for funds in aid of the children's education might legitimately be made to the colonist and the manufacturer, was, unfortunately, not discussed.

DETRIBALIZATION

That invidious distinctions of colour, race, class, or creed do not exist in the mind of the true educationist was once more demonstrated at this Conference on the education of African children. Spiritual considerations were not subordinated to the merely material, nor was the practical application of principle lost sight of in the enunciation of ideal aspirations. These liberal attitudes of mind are, of course, the commonplace of conferences on education, wherever these are held. The significance of their presence in the Geneva Conference lay, not in their abstract verity, but in their being considered applicable as a matter of course to the child of African race. If one consideration more than another appeared to be regarded as of special application to African conditions, it was the unanimous insistence on the religious nature of the people to be educated, and of its educational value in combating evils consequent upon crude and undirected detribalization. When the discussion on Question III drew to a close, the words of the preamble to the Declaration of Geneva might have been cited as a fitting conclusion to the morning's deliberations ; for in it the duty of men and women of all nations to the world's children is declared to depend upon their "recognising that Mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give . . . beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality, or creed".

CHAPTER V
THE AFRICAN CHILD AT WORK

“Industrialization has meant for the primitive, and even the backward races, an economic and social revolution, the effects of which are proving more fatal to the health, life, and soul of the Native than they ever were in our western civilization in the last century. *It is therefore urgent to save the child as far as possible from the harmful results of industrialization; that is the surest, the quickest, and the most economical way of saving the race.*”—PROFESSOR G. MONDAINI (*Royal Institute of Economic and Commercial Science, Rome*), in his report on general conditions of work for children and adolescents in north Africa.

“There does not seem to be so much need for legislative measures for the amelioration of working conditions in industry and commerce as they affect Native juveniles, as for the *development of social agencies* and the enhancement of wages to enable Natives to live under decent conditions of family life.”—MR. J. D. RHEINALLT JONES (*South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg*), *ibid.*, in south Africa.

“I venture to suggest that we must press upon all territories our conviction that there ought to be *an adequate inspectorate of child labour*, and we must work unceasingly until there is legal compulsion to compensate for death or injury as the result of employment. If nothing else can be done to protect child labour in Africa, this at least, ought to be done and that soon.”—THE VEN. ARCHDEACON W. E. OWEN (*Church Missionary Society*), *ibid.*, in east Africa.

“The legislation in force in the different possessions of central Africa, relating to the labour of young Native workers in European employment, is not at present nearly sufficient. It must be increased and developed, according to the economic and social stage of progress in each of the tropical regions of Africa; and it should be based to a certain extent upon similar laws already in force in European countries.”—PROFESSOR G. VAN DER KERKEN (*former Vice-Governor of the Congo and member of the Committee of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*), *ibid.*, in central Africa.

CHAPTER V

THE AFRICAN CHILD AT WORK

THE DISCUSSION OF QUESTION IV—General conditions of Work for Children and Adolescents, and the Protection of Children at Work—was, on the whole, less satisfactory than the previous debates in the Salle Centrale. This may have been partly due, as already suggested, to a defect in the personnel of the Conference. The invitations sent out to business firms and commercial undertakings in Africa having met with no personal response, there was no direct representation in the Salle Centrale of the employing interest ; and it is rather more true of labour questions than of those dealing with welfare or education that it takes two to make an effective discussion. The delegates present were naturally agreed on the main principles governing the employment of children, and, in the absence of expert business opinion, the tendency was to enunciate those principles without, perhaps, taking into consideration or fully examining all the local circumstances that may obstruct the simple application of economic theories to Africa's children.

Apart, however, from the absence of opposition, there appeared to be a certain lack of enthusiasm on the part of those who were present. This was all the more noticeable in contrast to the vigorous debate on education that had taken place just before ; and was, perhaps, to be attributed to that failure to appreciate the full implications of juvenile wage-earning that characterises the community elsewhere than in Africa or Geneva. For one reformer who can be induced to realise the grave effects, both economic and ethical, of child labour upon the social condition of every

THE AFRICAN CHILD

country in which it is permitted, there are possibly a hundred who are ready to support a movement to alleviate the physical disabilities of infancy. It may have been this general attitude of indifference towards the question of juvenile employment that was reflected in the neglect of the Conference to do more than touch in passing upon the many points that were made by the writers of the five reports presented at this session, all of which would have provided excellent material for a constructive debate. The papers were, indeed, scarcely discussed at all, and anybody might have been pardoned for suspecting that, in some cases, they had not even been read.

On one matter the Conference was emphatic, that, as far as possible, the evils attendant upon industrialism in our western civilization were to be avoided in Africa while there was yet time. Mr. C. H. W. Weaver (who represents the International Labour Organisation on the Mandates Commission), in his greeting to the Conference at its opening session, insisted particularly on this necessity, in view of the rapidity with which Africa was becoming industrialized. Monsieur P. Orts (president of the Belgian Congo Red Cross, and member of the Mandates Commission) who presided over the session dealing with Question IV, accentuated another feature of African child labour in his reference to the distinction between the work done at home by children within the tribe, and that done outside the family for wages, generally for some European employer. Mr. Mitchell elaborated this point in a short practical speech, saying that the work of children in Africa was sometimes casual and sometimes organized. In the latter case it could be controlled by legislation, which, on the whole, existed; and all that was needed was inspection, which Governments were trying to carry out. The abuses

THE LABOUR CONVENTIONS

attendant on casual labour, on the contrary, could be effectively watched only by social workers, whose business, he added humorously, "is to stick pins into administrators like me".

THE DRAFT CONVENTIONS AND THE CHILD

The chairman was of opinion that, generally speaking, these conditions of family life were not unfavourable to the children, and their troubles began on coming into contact with European agricultural and manufacturing undertakings; there was, therefore, yet time to avoid the worst consequences of our own industrial revolution, and he thought the laws in existence on the whole good and well applied. Referring to the draft Labour Conventions* to regulate juvenile employment, he thought that these, though framed primarily for European conditions, could well be put into force in Africa. This passage in his opening address drew from Mr. R. V. Vernon, official representative of the British Colonial Office, an important pronouncement on the general attitude of the British Government, which was greeted with warm satisfaction both by M. Orts and by the whole of the Conference, and was, undoubtedly, one of the most valuable contributions yet made to any of the debates.

The policy of his Government, said Mr. Vernon, was to decline to interfere with any African custom unless this affected the public health or public good; therefore, it would not interfere with the conditions of work within

* These draft Conventions, thirty-one in number, of which six refer to children and young persons, have been drawn up by the International Labour Office at Geneva in conjunction with the League of Nations, and are subject to ratification by the members of the League.

THE AFRICAN CHILD

the family. He thought it might be gathered from the reports that there was no *general* practice of cruelty to children in Africa; forced labour, for instance, was sometimes the custom of the tribe. At the same time, it was very important that child labour should be carefully regulated. Here he reminded his listeners of the quandary in which Harriet Martineau found herself when faced with the consequences of a policy of *laissez-faire* which allowed little children in her day to become factory workers, and he quoted her despairing remark that she could only hope the race would die out. The British Government did not mean with regard to the African child to accept such a policy of *laissez-faire* with its inevitable results, and he told the Conference that the Colonial Office, having examined the Geneva Conventions carefully, had issued instructions to the effect that they were to be adopted in all British possessions and protectorates with the absolute minimum of modification.

The opinion expressed by the speakers with regard to child labour in Africa was not entirely borne out in the written papers, in one or two of which serious allegations were made that could not be dismissed lightly. As these reports varied even more with the character of the areas dealt with than in the case of the papers presented at the previous sessions, it may be more convenient to take them here in order, as they were brought up at the Conference.

West Africa.—The Rev. Edmond de Billy (French Wesleyan Mission, Ivory Coast and Dahomey) prefaces his report with the announcement that it is necessarily incomplete as no answers were received from Gambia, Portuguese Guinea, or the French Colonies and Mandated Territories. His general conclusion, based on these

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

insufficient data, is that, west Africa being mainly agricultural in character, the child belongs to a peasant community, living on the produce of the land that is worked by the family ; such evils as children may suffer are, therefore, inherent in the family system of division of labour. Thus, young girls frequently carry weights out of all proportion to their age and strength, being employed with the women of the tribe in the transport of water, food, and fuel for the household ; and it is thought that this may account for the women in many of these tribes being abnormally small and clumsy. This could be prevented, in the opinion of the reporter, by raising both the moral standard and the standard of living of the father, and by providing the villages with motor roads and a water supply.

SLAVERY AND PEONAGE

There is a certain amount of surface work at the mines on the Gold Coast, both for boys and girls, but the conditions appear to be fairly good. Itinerant trading in the coastal tribes involves the aid of young girls, with bad moral results, besides stopping their education. The boys employed as servants by Europeans are reported to be well treated, while those in the service of native Africans are often overworked and underpaid. Children are never requisitioned alone, but sometimes accompany their parents ; and, according to some of the replies to the questionnaire, stricter supervision is needed to prevent the lazier type of African from substituting his children for himself in the labour gang. But the most serious passage in this paper refers to illicit slavery, which is

THE AFRICAN CHILD

said to be countenanced by parents in backward tribes ; the peonage, or pawn, system is also prevalent, in Liberia especially, the children being handed over to a creditor as guarantee for a debt and then becoming virtually his serfs. Since slavery is illegal, the remedy here seems to rest with the authorities, though, in presenting his paper, M. de Billy also laid stress on the need for impressing parents in west African tribes with a stronger sense of their responsibilities.

In the course of the short discussion that followed, M. Labouret, while admitting that the matriarchal system had its disadvantages, pointed out that it did at least ensure to the children the additional protection of their maternal uncle ; and Captain Rattray made the interesting comment that the chief work of the anthropologist in east Africa was not to paganize Christianity, but to help the missionaries to apply Christianity to the African customs and beliefs. Mr. Duncan-Johnstone reinforced the administrative view, saying that the British Government had sent three official delegates from the Gold Coast to the Conference, representing health, education, and labour ; and with regard to the latter, they were pledged to oppose forced labour of any kind, or underground labour, for children. He admitted that children do sometimes participate in the hard work of their parents in the tribe, but this was an old African custom not easily interfered with. He described the newer official attitude of British representatives in the Colonies (see Chapter I) and stressed the importance of co-operation between Africans and administrators.

North Africa.—There was some similarity between this report and the last one. In a large part of the area, from Morocco to Libya, the social system is based on the tribe

CHILD EXPLOITATION

and the tent, so the child again suffers only from those disabilities that are dependent upon tribal custom. But, says Professor Mondaini, writer of the report, as soon as he leaves tribal custody he is liable to fall a victim to abuses that can be checked. Child labour and exploitation are to be found in those areas where European industrialization is proceeding, in the cotton mills of Egypt and the mines of Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco ; here, too, children suffer the evils consequent on detribalization whether they are employed or not. Vagrancy, juvenile prostitution, adoption of children in order to exploit them, the offering of very young girls in marriage as guarantee for a debt, and even in some cases the sale of children, are given as examples of abuses demanding examination and control. Professor Mondaini calls for the prohibition of the employment of young children, the better enforcement of factory legislation, and more inspection, besides the development in the towns of compulsory education. Unless the position in all these respects is faced, he thinks the rise of serious racial problems in the future cannot be avoided.

Mr. John Harris commented on these two reports in an energetic appeal to the Conference to keep in mind two essential axioms: (1) that every child should be born free ; and (2) that no child should be used as security for any commercial transaction. In respect to the first point, he said the extent of the traffic could be judged by the fact that a naval officer was said to have estimated that 5,000 slaves were transferred from Africa to Arabia each year. As to the second point, it was well known that the Liberian report* has exposed the prevalence of

* Report of the International Commission of Enquiry into the Existence of Slavery and forced Labour in Liberia—a joint inquiry by the League, Liberia, and America.

THE AFRICAN CHILD

peonage, through which children were often pawned from the day of their birth; sometimes they were not even freed by death, since the enslavement could be passed on from mother to child. The Conference was deeply impressed by these grim facts which gave a sudden reality to a debate that threatened to become academic.

East Africa.—Archdeacon Owen, who presented his report on east Africa, seemed sensible of this danger. “Where are the employers of labour?” he asked, adding that it was a pity they were not present to give the Conference the advantage of their knowledge. On the general question he considered that Articles 4 and 5 of the Declaration of Geneva*, which asserted that the child must be placed in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be brought up to devote his talents to the service of its fellows, were already in force in tribal life. But Europe was saying to Africa: Yes, you have done this much for the child; now we want you to apply that idea of livelihood and of service in a wider sense and to a wider circle. Like Dr. Paterson, he felt that the question was largely an economic one, depending upon the raising of the African’s standard of living.

In his report, Archdeacon Owen states that the replies to the questionnaire seem to show that, with the exception of Abyssinia, there is neither slavery nor pawning of children in east Africa, also that the law does not allow children to be requisitioned, though it is sometimes evaded by the chiefs, and vigilance is needed here for the protection of the child. As regards wage-earning, the conditions are said to be satisfactory in the case of the great majority of employers, most of the children in this category (generally boys, except in some parts of Kenya) being engaged in

* See Appendix I.

INSPECTORS NEEDED

work on the tea and coffee plantations. Some of the suggestions sent in, however, asked for the restriction of the wage-earning age in agriculture, and also for the provision of schools on the plantations, while the writer of the report has two urgent reforms of his own to advocate. One is that there should be an adequate inspectorate of child labour, which is now far from being the case, especially in Kenya, the colony employing the largest amount of child labour ; and the second, that there should be legal compulsion to compensate for death or injury as the result of employment.

TAXATION AND DISCIPLINE

It is pointed out, further, that the removal of children from tribal restraint into wage-earning produces demoralization. " Before our advent the children could grow up at home under tribal discipline ", writes Archdeacon Owen. " What force is it which has thus transformed the manner of their upgrowing ? " He answers unhesitatingly that it is not pressure from within the tribe, but our system of direct taxation at the age of sixteen (but often earlier owing to the inability of ageing parents to find the money within the reserves) that has been " the strongest force in compelling the break of the child with his home ", another consequence of which is to lay upon the younger children who are left behind the heavy burden of those tasks that belong properly to the elder brothers. All these disabilities are more marked in the case of the squatters' children, when these are employed, because the rate of pay is so much lower than for non-squatter labour.

It is impossible, too, to read this report without feeling

THE AFRICAN CHILD

profoundly uneasy as to the amount of "discipline" that is enforced by means of personal chastisement, a method, says Archdeacon Owen, which both to adults and children "is administered by the employer and his overseers to an extent that bears no relation to anything similar in industrial life in Europe". That he knows of no case of flogging within his personal experience which has ended in the death of the child, scarcely relieves the anxiety of the humane reader, who is left commenting that, if the repetition of evils accompanying European industrialization are to be avoided in Africa, a beginning might be made by abolishing those abuses, at the outset, that appear to be peculiar to the industrial revolution in Africa. It was a curious omission on the part of the Conference that this report on east Africa was not more minutely examined.

Central Africa.—On the other hand, the report on child labour in central Africa was not discussed at all, although it, too, reveals some serious aspects of the question. Professor van der Kerken, who wrote this paper, reports that peonage exists in certain regions within the tribe, and that the children thus pledged often become drudges of the household; sometimes, the distressing prevalence of this custom is accentuated by the prostitution of young girls by their owners as payment. As to labour, the women and children are sometimes compelled in the Belgian Congo to help in heavy labour connected with the road-making that is supervised by the chiefs; and here also the children work in the fields from eight years of age, and small girls have to carry heavy baskets of produce to market. These hardships are said to be exceptional though they undoubtedly exist. Yet, on the whole, the children engaged in non-European tribal undertakings

THE OVERWORKED CHILD

are well treated, because " the native mothers are generally devoted to their children, whom they regard as constituting the future of the family, the clan, and the race ".

The work done by children for European employers is increasing in central Africa, and they are often employed for long hours and from an early age in such occupations as packing, cleaning, and other odd jobs, in saw-mills and gas-works, domestic service, agriculture, and, in remoter districts, as porters and pedlars. The resultant evils of ill-health, loss of education, and moral deterioration are obvious, and Professor van der Kerken calls for more legislation regulating child labour in this area, for compulsory education, and for the co-operation of social workers and missionaries in bringing abuses to the notice of local authorities. He thinks, too, that the African practices of pawning children and giving very young girls in marriage will take many years to die out unless the Colonial Powers exert their authority, as he thinks they can, to discredit these customs, and even to prohibit them under severe penalties.

South Africa.—Mr. Rheinallt Jones's comprehensive survey of labour conditions throughout this area constitutes a valuable addition to the information collected by the Conference on juvenile employment in Africa. There appear to be no dramatic abuses like slavery or peonage in south Africa, but detribalization consequent upon the growth of industrialism, especially within the Union, has brought in its train a group of social evils, of which the break-up of family life in rural districts where the father has left home to enter industry, and the creation of a new urban child population requiring employment, are two of the commonest. Information is lacking as to the conditions of non-European juvenile labour and its

THE AFRICAN CHILD

recruitment, and the suggestion that an enquiry should be instigated as to the conditions affecting non-European child labour and its recruitment in south Africa, concludes Mr. Jones's report. The following passage in it is a good example of his careful approach to a matter on which he has not sufficient data to form a decided opinion, but which he realizes contains possibilities of an abuse of power :

The Native's determination to secure education for his children is forcing many farmers to grant land for the building of schools on their farms and to give cash wages to enable the Native to pay the school fees and Government taxes without having to spend some months in the mines or in industry, or to send older children to work in towns. In many cases, however, the penalties of the Masters' and Servants' Laws are sufficient to hold the Native and his family in the service of the employer.

There was very little discussion of this paper ; and, with the summary by M. Orts of the afternoon's proceedings, the session dealing with question IV came to an end. The Conference now had nothing more before it except the consideration on the morrow of the conclusions that the three Commissions appointed to draw them up would place before the delegates for confirmation.*

* See Appendix IV for names of those delegates who were appointed to serve on the three Commissions.

CHAPTER VI
THE OUTCOME OF IT ALL

“ I am glad to hear on all hands the impression that the Conference has had the blessing of God.”—LORD NOEL-BUXTON *in his speech at the closing session of the Geneva Conference, June 25, 1931.*

“ Governments are anxious to do what is right ; but they are representative and must take action by public opinion as it exists. If a Government does wrong, it is we who are doing wrong. We must, therefore, put as much clean and true information before Governments as possible. As the Hebrew prophet said long ago : ‘ For want of knowledge my people perish ’. It is through want of knowledge in Europe that the African people perish.”—THE REV. A. G. FRASER, *ibid.*

“ I feel that we as black people should endorse this remarkable work that has been started here. We of the western world have been longing for something like this, but did not know how to set about it. We want to help personally by going to Africa . . . and I believe, if good black Americans go to Africa and win the confidence of the Africans there and show them that we are not out to exploit them, we shall see a new and vigorous Africa dawning of which all of us will be justly proud.”—MR. BERESFORD GALE (*Society of Elks of Africa and America*), *ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

THE OUTCOME OF IT ALL

THE CLOSING SESSION OF A CONFERENCE is often the least important—a matter, perhaps, of passing omnibus resolutions and catching trains. But the members of the Geneva Conference on African Children worked seriously to the very end, though they did not neglect the usual amenities and managed to include in the business of the last meeting a genuine expression of gratitude to officials and staff in England and Geneva, to Governments and to municipal authorities, national and international, and to all who had laboured, often anonymously and without thought of recognition, to make the Conference practically effective as well as successful from every point of view. When the delegates met for the last time in the Salle Centrale, on June 25, their main purpose, however, was to review and approve the draft conclusions submitted by the three Commissions and based on the debates that had been held, respectively, on infant mortality, on the education, and on the labour of African children.

These conclusions may be summarized under the headings of the four questions that the Conference had met to consider.*

Questions I and II.—Still-birth and infant mortality, from the pathological and economic points of view.

The conclusions arrived at under this heading fall naturally into two classes: (A) Objects, and (B) Methods.

(A) *Objects*.—The main object being to discover the causes of the present high infant mortality in Africa, it

* The full text of the Conclusions will be found in Appendix V.

THE AFRICAN CHILD

is urged that a close investigation should be made, "in co-operation with trained Africans", and along anthropological, medical, sociological, and economic lines, into the following matters :

- (a) Certain anti-moral, anti-hygienic, or superstitious practices widespread in Africa.
- (b) The so-called social diseases which are the causes of still-births and infant mortality.
- (c) The nutritive value of local food-stuffs for infants and their parents with a view to improving the existing crops.
- (d) The therapeutic value of African drugs.
- (e) The effects of the abuses arising out of industrialization.

(B) *Methods*.—In order to make use of all the material for reform thus collected, certain measures are suggested as likely to prove helpful in bringing moral influence to bear through every available channel (missionaries, Government officials, and others) upon the African people, and in extending the education of the future mother. These practical suggestions are to the following effect :

- (a) That voluntary associations as well as individuals should be encouraged to help in welfare work in Africa ;
- (b) That Governments should be asked to co-operate with all these, and especially with those of African origin, in order to secure a better supply of men and women doctors trained in tropical medicine and hygiene, and of men and women nurses, midwives, and health visitors who have similarly received a specialized training ;
- (c) That information should be collected and pooled for the purpose of framing a medical policy for Africa, generally suitable to the whole continent but with special application to

USEFUL CONCLUSIONS

the various habits, customs, and diseases of different areas ; and (d) That in order to spread and popularize a knowledge of hygiene, close contact should be maintained between medical staffs and teachers, and any others who are able to exercise educational influence in this direction.

Question III.—Education regarded as the preparation of children for life.

Here again, the conclusions arrived at may be grouped under the two headings of Objects and Methods.

(A) *Objects*.—It is emphasized as a basic principle that “the education of African boys and girls must aim at the development of their personality, and train them especially with a view to the progress of their own race”. To this end it is urged that the school curriculum should be adapted, morally, intellectually, and physically, to the needs of the African child, and, by avoiding too theoretic a tendency, be truly educational and sufficiently religious to build up character and, at the same time, to prepare the African for the work of bettering his economic condition.

With the same object in view, it is urged that Africans should have a voice on all bodies, whether Governmental or missionary, which control education policy. Yet more important, in this connection, is the opinion of the Conference, recorded here to the effect that, while the teaching of a European language is very important, it should be preceded by the teaching of the vernacular. The Conference further expresses its gratitude to the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures for notable services already rendered to the cause of African education, especially by its work on the simplification of dialects, and goes on to beg the Institute to prepare a manual of elementary science which could be translated

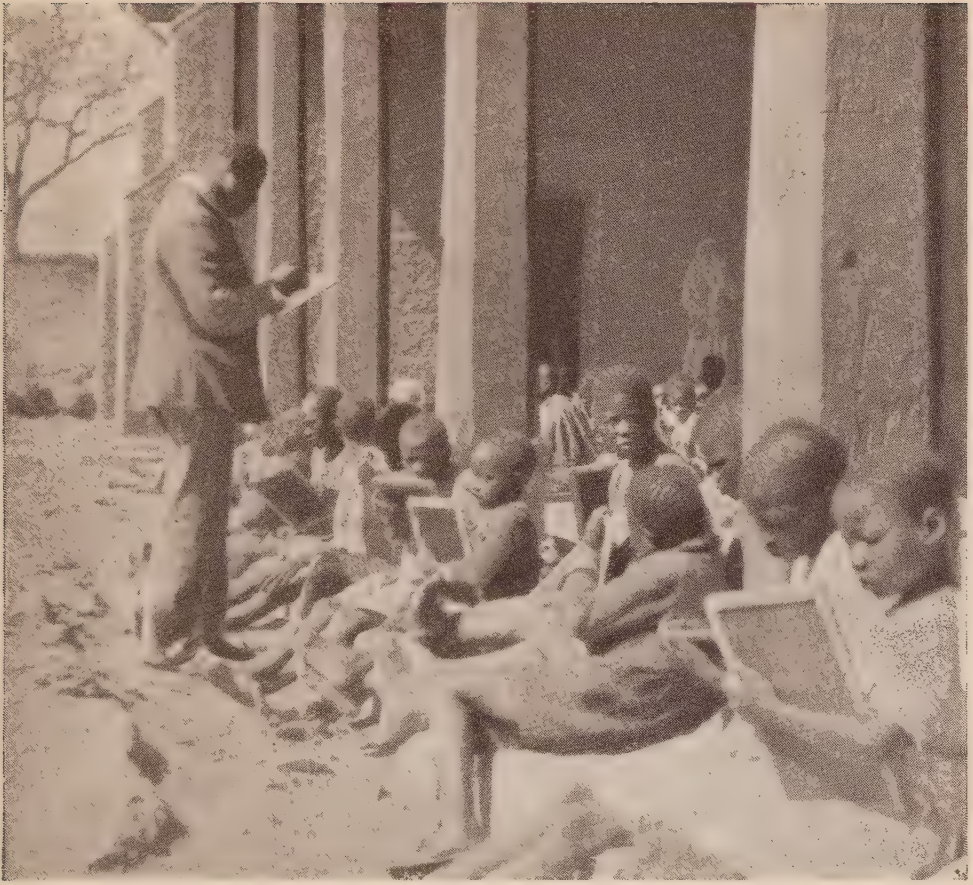
THE AFRICAN CHILD

into the principal African languages and would serve as a basis for a text-book on the chief natural phenomena and the diseases of the human body.

(B) *Methods*.—In education as in health measures, the desirability of the co-operation of all voluntary organizations, whether religious or otherwise, is insisted upon ; and it is further pointed out that, in so far as the requirements of the authorities are fulfilled by such unofficial organizations, they should receive adequate grants for the purpose. This leads on to the proposals that, since African education is intended to apply to the whole mass of the people, schools of many types will be required to meet different needs, and, therefore, encouragement should be given to the pre-elementary schools known in some districts as bush schools, and to the help of voluntary teachers even if they are not fully certificated. More emphatic still, though not in the least surprising in view of the constant recurrence of the demand throughout the Conference, is the stress laid on the urgent need of more schools for girls and of more women school inspectors. A last recommendation has reference to the sanitary conditions of the schools and compounds, which, it is proposed, might be made to “ serve as an example to the community ”.

Question IV.—General conditions of work for children and adolescents, and the protection of children at work.

The nature of the matters dealt with under Question IV necessarily give rather an academic complexion to the conclusions drawn from the debate upon them. They are none the less important on that account. They begin with the assertion that if the further industrialization of Africa, anticipated by the Conference, is not to affect the lives of African children very seriously, “ it is desirable



A MISSION SCHOOL AT SEROWE,
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE

Photograph by courtesy of Mr. David Roden Buxton.

L A W S — N E W A N D O L D

that steps should now be taken so far as is possible, in the light of experience already gained, to prepare the African people for the coming changes". And in pursuance of this idea the Conference expresses the opinion that, while convinced that the right place for the child is in the family, it considers that effective protection by adequate legislation should be ensured when children and young people become wage-earners.

With regard to such legislation, it is first urged that information relating to the existing laws, and also to the application already made in Africa of international conventions concerning the employment of children in industry, agriculture and on board ship, should be made available to those interested, and that the possibility of giving this information to Africans in their own language should be seriously considered. Secondly, the Conference states its readiness to welcome any effective international effort that might be made for amplifying the conventions that deal with conditions of child labour.

Two smaller but eminently practical suggestions that appear in the conclusions referring to Question IV, recommend that the attention of public authorities should be drawn to specific cases of abuse of the law, and that the number of recreation centres in urban areas should be increased for the moral and physical benefit of the children.

A C E N T R E I N G E N E V A

These conclusions, though of undoubted use as a record, had been more or less anticipated in the debates. Of more immediate constructive value, therefore, was the resolution proposed by Professor Gabbi, seconded on behalf of the

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Roman Catholic Missionaries by the Rev. Father Max Kassiepe (Hunfeld Fathers, Germany) and adopted unanimously by the Conference before it broke up. What was to be the outcome of the deliberations of the last four days? It would have been easy to look upon them only as productive of information, of ideas for future consideration, and as the result of a clash of minds differing in outlook but bent upon a single purpose, the welfare of African children. But more than one speaker had intimated during the Conference that some permanent organization for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Conference would be welcome, and Mr. R. V. Vernon had in the opening session promised the support of the British Government, should this idea take effect. There was, consequently, no suggestion of opposition to Professor Gabbi's motion, and in welcoming its adoption on behalf of the Save the Children International Union, Monsieur J. C. van Notten (who is the Netherlands Consul-General in Geneva and chairman of the Union's Executive) merely reminded his hearers that the only possible obstacle to its being carried out loyally by the Union lay in the difficulty of obtaining sufficient funds for the purpose. The resolution ran as follows :

Whereas, in its relief work for children in Europe and the Near East, the Save the Children International Union has already proved its value and is universally recognised as an independent organization animated by a constructive spirit :

It should continue the work begun by it on behalf of the children of Africa ; should form a permanent unofficial centre for documentary research, for the exchange of information and experiences, and for linking the relations between the private organizations, on the one hand, which are seconding the efforts of the Colonial Governments and services (administrative, medical, and educational), and, on the other, the institutions, both national and international, of a social and scientific character ; and should stimulate the holding of general and regional conferences to deal with questions concerning the protection of African children.

LIGHTER MOMENTS

It is well known to those who attend Conferences that some of the most valuable results of such meetings are to be sought in the opportunities afforded for social intercourse and for the dissipation of prejudice through personal contact. Certain little incidents of debate, little scraps of conversation, little scenes witnessed outside the walls of the Salle Centrale, call up mental pictures as one looks back on those half-dozen summer days at Geneva in the June of 1931. One of these is the pleasant vision of a Government official sitting on a grass slope, deep in conversation with an African schoolmaster, the afternoon that the Conference forgot to be serious and became the guests of Mrs. Gordon Morier in her mother's beautiful park on the shore of the lake, with its seventeenth-century house and its historic associations with Voltaire, who wrote at a desk which still stands in the corner of a room that seems scarcely to have changed since he stayed there.

Another vision is of a young woman in a summer frock, looking rather as if she were on the point of stepping into a punt on the Thames, and altogether as unlike most people's notion of an African missionary as anyone could well be: yet standing on the steps of the platform in the Salle Centrale and telling her listeners in a matter-of-fact tone how, in the course of her work as a midwife, she often had to walk twenty-five miles through the bush to a case, her "boy" carrying water at her side, so that "it generally ended in being a choice between a cup of tea and a wash!" And this brings to one's mind the conversation of another woman missionary, whose long years of service lay behind and not in front of her, recalling in her gentle voice the days when she and her husband walked up into the interior, where no white man had been before and no road existed, "and the wild animals came and peered at us through

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the bushes, not thinking of hurting us or being afraid of us, because that was before the days of big game shooting ! ”

More scraps of conversation—this time gleaned at the reception given by the President, one evening, in the hall of the Parc des Eaux-Vives, high up above the lights of the boats dancing on the black lake and of the hotels clustered round its shores. A lively group sits at a table eating ices, one of them a young University graduate from a part of Africa where “the girls in my school all suffer from an inferiority complex because the Colony has been so well administered, and so they have got into the way of thinking that everything European is right and everything African is wrong”. This speaker has found one way of correcting this “complex” in her pupils through their own native cultures. “When they found I was interested in folk dancing and thought the African dances were beautiful as well as interesting, they began to dance them again for my benefit, and to take a pride in them ; and now we never have a party at the mission without including at least one of their dances.”

From the balcony outside rather more serious scraps of talk float into the room. “Of course the African woman has to carry the heavy burden through the bush while her husband walks in front, carrying nothing but a spear”, says one indignant voice. “She wouldn’t thank you for proposing that he should turn carrier instead of keeping his spear arm free for a possible lion !” Another speaker, a woman doctor this time, throws light on a different prejudice : “The rites are dying out with us because we never try to suppress them. The women listen to me when I give them talks on the way they are made ; and sometimes I ask them why, when God has

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done His work so perfectly, they think they can improve upon it with practices that upset it all ! ”

Among all these and other random recollections there stands out one particularly wise remark. It was made by a visitor who, although an administrative official in Africa, was not sent as a delegate to the Conference but happened to be home on leave when he heard of it, and came to Geneva out of personal interest in the subject. He was repudiating the suggestion that African parents who, as he said, are proverbially fond of their children, are ever cruel to them. Then he added carefully : “ Children in Africa suffer cruelties, but not because people are cruel to them.” In a flash one recognised a subtle distinction that seemed to illumine, not only the universal problems of childhood everywhere, but particularly those that surround the early life of the child in Africa. For the Geneva Conference demonstrated beyond all doubt that only by distinguishing between the ills that can be traced to material causes and those that spring from want of human understanding can we hope to devise a philosophy that will envisage the spiritual as well as the physical needs of the future men and women of that great continent.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The DECLARATION OF GENEVA was drawn up by Eglantyne Jebb (1876-1928), founder of the Save the Children Fund, and was signed by all members of the Fifth General Council of the Save the Children International Union on February 28th, 1924. It was presented to, and adopted by, the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations on September 26th, 1924, the President, M. Giuseppe Motta (Switzerland) saying: "The Assembly, by approving the Declaration of Geneva, has made it the Charter of Child Welfare of the League of Nations". The original text was subsequently deposited in the official archives of the Canton and City of Geneva. Since then, copies of the Declaration in many tongues have been signed by a number of important national representatives, among whom are the following:

H.M. the King of Bulgaria, the Prime Ministers of England, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, the President of the Irish Free State, the Foreign Ministers of Belgium and Estonia, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Hungary, the Presiding Bishop and twelve other Bishops of the Episcopal Church of the United States, Mr. Gandhi, leading representatives of France, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Mexico, Haiti, and citizens of many other lands.

The Cortes of the Republic of Spain have adopted the Declaration as part of the new national Constitution (Article 41).

THE DECLARATION OF GENEVA (Official English Translation)

By the present Declaration of the Rights of the Child, commonly known as the "Declaration of Geneva", the men and women of all nations, recognising that Mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give, declare and accept it as their duty that, beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality, or creed:

- I. THE CHILD must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.
- II. THE CHILD that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.
- III. THE CHILD must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.
- IV. THE CHILD must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation.
- V. THE CHILD must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow-men.

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APPENDIX II

The following list gives the names of all members of the International Conference on African Children, with their titles and qualifications. A few of those mentioned enrolled, but did not attend.

ADAMSON, Miss Evelyn O.

Universities Mission to Central Africa

AITKEN, Dr. Isobel M. Malcolm

ALEXANDER, Miss B. G., R.R.C.

South African National Council for Child Welfare

ANET, The Rev. Henri

Liaison Officer, Protestant Missions of the Belgian Congo ; representative of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, U.S.A.

ATHOLL, The Duchess of, D.B.E., M.P.

Vice-Chairman of the unofficial [British] House of Commons Committee of all parties studying questions affecting the health of women and children in Africa ; formerly Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education

ATTLEE, Miss Mary A. B.

South African Church Institute

BARHAM, Mr. John F.

National Welfare Society of Matabeleland

BERGERET, The Rev. Etienne

Missionary

BLACKLOCK, Dr. Mary G.

Member of the Colonial Advisory Medical and Sanitary Committee of the [British] Colonial Office ; formerly Government Medical Officer, Sierra Leone

BLOENISCH, The Rev. Father Joseph, C.S.SP.

Roman Catholic Missionary, Bethlehem, South Africa.

BLOWERS, Commissioner A. R.

Salvation Army.

BRACKETT, Miss D. G.

International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, London.

BREGEAT-MATHIEU, Mme. C.

Administrator, Musulman Charitable Bureau, and Auxiliary Hospital, Oran, Algiers

BROWN, Miss A. E.

Kenya ; representing the Scottish Standing Committee of the National Council of Women

BURBRIDGE, The Rev. Father, S.J.

Southern Rhodesia

MEMBERS OF CONFERENCE

BURKI, The Rev. Rodolphe M.
Basel Mission, East Africa

BURNIER, The Rev. Th.
Evangelical Missions of Paris

BUXTON, Mr. Charles Roden, M.P.
Member of the Joint [British] Committee of the House of
Lords and House of Commons on Closer Union in East Africa

BUXTON, The Dowager Lady

CANDLER, The Rev. A. H.
Superintendent of Education, Northern Territories, Gold
Coast

CARR, Mr. Henry

CASELY-HAYFORD, Miss Gladys
National Congress of British West Africa, Sierra Leone
Branch

CATASTINI, Signor V.
Mandates Section, League of Nations

CATON, Miss A. R.

COHEN, Dr. Victor
Director of the Modern School Clinic, Tunis

COOK, Dr. A. R., C.M.G.
Church Missionary Society Hospital, Mengo, Uganda

COOK, Dr. Katharine, M.B.E. (Mrs. A. R. Cook)
Consultant Superintendent, Maternity Training School,
Kampala, Uganda

COUVE, M. D.
Director, Evangelical Missions of Paris; representing the
Belgian Red Cross

CZECHOSLOVAK Society for the International Juridical Pro-
tection of Young People, Representative of

DARDENNE, Mme.
Director, Belgian Red Cross, Brussels

DAVIS, Mr. J. MERLE
Director, Department of Social and Industrial Research,
International Missionary Council

de BILLY, The Rev. Edmond
French Wesleyan Mission, West Africa (Ivory Coast and
Dahomey)

de BUNSEN, Mrs.
Chairman, British Committee of the Conference; member
of the Executive Committee, Save the Children International
Union, and of the Council of the Save the Children Fund,
London

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de CLEENE, Mlle. G.

Secretariat, League for the Protection of Black Children,
Belgian Congo

de MORSIER, Mlle. J. M.

Assistant Secretary, Save the Children International Union ;
Joint Secretary of the Conference

DRONSART, M. Ed.

Belgian Red Cross

DUBOIS, The Rev. Father H., s.j.

Secretariat, African Missionary Council, Rome ; formerly
missionary in Madagascar

DU BOULAY, Miss A. H.

Formerly Inspector of Education under the Transvaal
Government

DUNCAN, Mrs. Patrick

National President, Girls' Wayfarers Association of South
Africa

DUNCAN-JOHNSTONE, Mr. A. C.

Provincial Commissioner, Gold Coast ; [British] Colonial
Office official representative

DUTILLEUX, Mlle. Germaine

Catholic School of Social Service, Brussels

EARTHY, Miss E. D.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Portuguese East
Africa

EEGHEN, Mlle. Louise C. A.

International Council of Women

ELMS, Miss Mary

Church Missionary Society, West Africa

FAVRE, Mme. Edouard

FERRAZ de ANDRADE, Dr. A. M.

First Secretary, Portuguese Legation in Switzerland ;
member of the Portuguese Delegation to the League of
Nations

FERRIÈRE, Mlle. Suzanne.

Member of the Executive Committee, Save the Children
International Union and of the International Committee of
the Red Cross, Geneva

FORESTIER, Dr.

Health Section, League of Nations

FRASER, Dr. Agnes (Mrs. Donald Fraser)

Church of Scotland Missionary, Nyasaland (retired)

MEMBERS OF CONFERENCE

FRASER, The Rev. A. G.

Principal, Achimota College, Gold Coast ; [British] Colonial
Office official representative

FULLER, Mr. Edward

Editor, *The World's Children*; Publicity Secretary, British
Committee of the Conference and of the Save the Children
Fund, London

GABBI, Prof. Dr. Umberto

Member of the Italian Senate

GIROD, Dr. Renée.

International Council of Women

GODFREY, Miss Emily

Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, Nigeria

GOLDEN, Mr. L. B.

General Secretary, Save the Children Fund, London, and
Secretary of the British Committee of the Conference ;
Délégué-général, Save the Children International Union

GOTTELAND, M. Jean

Director-General of Education, Fine Arts and Antiquities,
Morocco

GOURD, Mlle. Emilie

General Secretary, International Alliance for Women's
Suffrage

GRUGEON, Miss F.

Secretariat, Save the Children Fund, London

GUILCHER, The Rev. Father

African Missions of Lyons

GUILLON, M. Charles

Committee of the World's Young People's Christian Union

HAMILTON, Miss L. D.

Secretariat, Save the Children Fund, London

HARRIS, Mr. John H.

Parliamentary Secretary, Anti-Slavery and Aborigines
Protection Society, London

HEFTI, M. F. O.

Vice-Chairman, International Bureau for the Defence of
Native Races

HEIBIG, Herr Rudolf

Missionary of the Seventh Day Adventists

HENRI, Mlle. Suzanne

League for the Protection of Black Children, Belgian Congo

HENRIOD de MONTMOLLIN, Mme. S.

HENTSCH, M. Alois

Economist

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- HINTERN-SMITH, Miss Elsie
League of Nations Union, London
- HOOPER, Mrs. H. D.
Member of the British Committee of the Conference;
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- HOW, Mr. Douglas Walsham
Assistant Commissioner, Basutoland
- HUNGERFORD, Dr. G.
Deputy Director, Medical and Health Services, Gold Coast ;
[British] Colonial Office official representative
- HURLIMAN, Mlle. L. J.
- HUSSEY, Mr. E. R. J.
Director of Education, Nigeria ; [British] Colonial Office
official representative
- ISERLAND, Dr. Otto
Department of Social and Industrial Research, International
Missionary Council
- JOHNSON, Dr. J. W. de Graft
National Congress of British West Africa, Sierra Leone Branch
- JONES, Mr. J. D. Rheinallt
Secretary and Adviser, South African Institute of Race
Relations, Johannesburg
- JOYEUX, The Rev. Father
The White Fathers ; Managing Director, Society for Moral
Assistance to North African Natives
- JULIEN, The Rev. Father Louis
Procurator of the Premonstratensians, Madagascar
- JUNOD, The Rev. Henri A.
President, International Bureau for the Defence of Native
Races ; formerly Swiss [Protestant] Missionary in South
Africa
- KASSIEPE, The Rev. Father Provincial Max, O.M.I.
Hunfeld
- KENYATTA, Mr. Johnstone
Kikuyu Central Association
- KRAFFT-BONNARD, M. Antony
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- KÜSTERS, The Rev. Dr. Meinulf, O.S.B.
Assistant Director, Ethnographical Museum, Munich ;
formerly a missionary in German East Africa.
- LABOURET, Prof. H.
International Institute of African Languages and Cultures,
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- LAFFONT, Prof. Dr. A.
Professor of Gynaecology, University of Algiers

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World Bureau of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, London

LOISELET, The Rev. Father Dr. J., s.j.

Professor in the Free University of Lille

LUXMOORE, Mrs. C. de J.

World's Young Women's Christian Association

MacKENZIE, Mr. W. A., K.S.G.

Secretary-General, Save the Children International Union ; member of the Council of the Save the Children Fund, London ; Joint Secretary of the Conference

MARINOSA, Señor Fernando

Spanish Red Cross, Juvenile Section

MATHYSEN, The Rt. Rev. Mgr. A.

Apostolic Prefect, Bunia Mission, Belgian Congo

MAZÈRES, Dr.

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MILDREN, The Rev. A. H.

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London

MILDREN, Mrs. E. J.

MISSION, The Rev. Father Jules

Vice-President, Company of Jesus, Brussels

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Secretary for Native Affairs, Tanganyika Territory ; [British] Colonial Office official representative

MONDAINI, Prof. Gennaro

Royal Institute of Economic and Commercial Sciences, Rome

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MORIER, Mrs. Gordon

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MORQUIO, Dr. Luis

Director, International American Institute for Child Protection, Montevideo ; President, Save the Children International Union

MORRIS, Mr. E. G., O.B.E.

Director of Education, Uganda ; [British] Colonial Office official representative

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President of the Save the Children Fund, London, and of
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- NOOTS, The Rev. Abbé Hubert A.
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- NYLAENDER, The Rev. E. H. G.
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- ODIER, Mlle. Lucie
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Cross, Geneva
- ORTS, M. P.
President, Belgian Congo Red Cross; Member of the
Mandates Commission of the League of Nations
- OWEN, The Ven. Archdeacon W. E.
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- OWEN, Mrs. W. E.
Formerly of the Church Missionary Society, Kenya
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Diocese of Johannesburg
- PATERSON, Dr. A. R.
Deputy Director, Sanitary Services, Kenya; [British]
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- PENHA-GARCIA, Count de
Member of Portuguese High Council of the Colonies; member
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- PHILIPPE, The Rev. Anthony
The White Fathers, Missionary in Africa
- PHILIPPS, Capt. J. E. T., M.C.
- PICKARD, Mr. Bertram
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- PICTET, Mme. L.
- PITTARD, Prof. Eugène
- POLWARTH, The Lord, C.B.E.
Chairman, Prisons Commission, Scotland
- PONSONBY, Mrs.
- QUININE, Representative of the Bureau for the Encouragement
of the Use of
- RADZIWILL, Mlle. G.
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- RAGAZZI, Prof. Dr. Carlo Alberto
Chief of the Health Office, City of Milan

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Deputy Provincial Commissioner, Gold Coast ; representing
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- REID, Dr. (Miss) A. Arnot, PH.D., ETC.
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Open Door International
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Women's International League (British Section)
- ROSSENBACH, The Rev. Joseph A., C.S.SP.
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Penn., U.S.A.
- RUDD, Miss J. G.
Organizing Instructress, Native Development Department,
Southern Rhodesia
- RUSILLON, The Rev. Henri
Protestant missionary, Madagascar
- RUTTER, Mr. Cuthbert Kirk
Headmaster, Forest School, Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants.
- RUTTER, Mrs. Rachel Mary
- SAGET, The Rev. P. Dalmace
- SAMS, Mrs. H. W. H.
Member of the Executive Committee, Save the Children
International Union
- SAUNDERS, Miss G. H.
Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, London
- SCHLEMMER, M. Raymond
Former *Délégué-général*, International Committee of the
Red Cross, Geneva
- SCHLUNK, Prof. Dr. M.
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- SCHMIDT, Mlle. Lucie
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- SHARP, Miss Evelyn
Author and journalist, London
- SHIRCORE, Dr. J. O., C.M.G.
Director, Medical and Sanitary Services, Tanganyika Territory; [British] Colonial Office official representative
- SINANAN, Mr. Mitra
Hon. Secretary, League of Coloured Peoples, London
- SINNIGEN, The Rev. Father Amgar
General Secretariat, Union of Religious Superiors
- SMITH, Mr. Rennie, M.P.
African Society, London
- SOMERVILLE, Miss V. E.
Kenya and Tanganyika
- SPREITER, The Rt. Rev. Bishop Thomas, O.S.B.
Benedictine Mission, Natal
- STACY, The Rev. Harold W.
Superintendent of Schools, Nigeria
- STENSON-STENSON, Miss Olive.
Johannesburg and Southern Rhodesia
- SUMMERHAYES, Miss D. N.
Church Missionary Society, Nigeria
- SUTHERLAND, Miss E. C.
Church of Scotland missionary, Gold Coast
- THÉLIN, M. Georges
International Labour Office, Geneva
- THEVENOUD, The Rt. Rev. Mgr.
Vicar Apostolic, Ouagadougou
- TOGO TERRITORY, Representative of the General Secretariat of
- TUBOKU-METZGER, Miss Olutunu, C.M.B.
Representing the President, Sierra Leone Section, National Congress of British West Africa
- TUCKER, Dr. A. N.
Linguistic expert, Sudan Government
- TUCKER, Mrs. A. N.
- UPPER KATANGA Mining Union, Brussels, Representative of
- VAJKAI, Mme. J. E.
Vice-President, Save the Children International Union
- VANDERHOVEN, The Rev. Father
Scheut Fathers

MEMBERS OF CONFERENCE

- van der KERKEN, Prof. G.
Formerly Vice-Governor, Belgian Congo ; member of the
Executive Committee, International Institute of African
Languages and Cultures
- van NOTTEN, Mr. J. C.
Chairman, Organising Committee of the Conference ; first
Vice-President, Save the Children International Union ;
Consul-General for the Netherlands in Geneva
- van SAMBERK, The Rev. Father J.
Missionary, Northern Rhodesia
- VERNON, Mr. R. V., C.B.
Official representative, [British] Colonial Office
- VINCI, Count G.
Representing the Unione Italiana di Assistenza all' Infanzia
(Italian Save the Children Fund)
- VOLLMER, Mr. A.
Representing the Advent-Verlag, Hamburg
- WACKERNAGEL, Mlle. G.
Missionary in Rhodesia
- WAGNER-BECK, Mme. Marguerite
Director, School of Social Studies, Geneva
- WALL, The Rev. John Ambrose
St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary College, London
- WARRINGTON, The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of (Dr. H. Gresford
Jones)
Formerly Bishop of Kampala, Uganda
- WATSON, Mr. H. D., C.I.E.
Chairman of the Save the Children Fund, London ; Vice-
President, Save the Children International Union
- WEAVER, Mr. C. H. W.
International Labour Office, Geneva
- WEAVER, Miss Ethel A.
City of London Branch, National Union of General and
Municipal Workers
- WILLIAMS, The Rev. S. E.
District Secretary, British and Foreign Bible Society
- WOELL, The Rev. Nicklaus
- WRONG, Miss M.
International Commission on Literature for Africa
- WYCHE, The Rev. Chancellor C. J.
Cape Province, South Africa
- WYNNE, Miss L. D.
Church Missionary Society, London

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ASSOCIATES OF THE CONFERENCE

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AUBERT, Mme. Fernand	FERRAZZINI, Mme. J.
BERTHOUD, Mme. Henri	FRASER, Mrs.
BROOKHAM, Miss M. E.	GREVES, Miss Anna
BROWN, Mrs. T. Allison	KAEGI, M. Eugène (Friends of Africa Mission)
CANDLER, Mrs. A. H. (Gold Coast)	LISBON Geographical Society, Representative of
CARSON, Miss Sophy	LENOIR, M. D. P. (Secretary, Swiss Mission in South Africa)
COOKE, Miss A. W.	PARNELL, Miss F.
DAVIES, Miss Ethel	STRUCKMEYER, Mr. Keith
DEBARGE, Mme. E.	THORNTON, Miss M. B.
de BUNSEN, Mr. L.	VALLETTE, Mlle. M. C. (Secre- tary, International Institute of Social Christianity)
de BUNSEN, Mr. Ronald	WEAVER, Mrs. C. W. H.
de MUERON, M. Abel (General Secretary, Tunis Mission in South Africa)	WERNER, Mme. G.
DUNCAN-JOHNSTONE, Mrs. (Gold Coast)	

PAPERS AND AUTHORS

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE
being Reports founded on the answers to the
Questionnaire sent out, with their Authors

*QUESTION I. Still-Birth and Infant Mortality, from the
Pathological point of view.*

1. *West Africa*.—Dr. Mary G. Blacklock, Member of the Colonial Advisory Medical and Sanitary Committee of the [British] Colonial Office, and formerly Government Medical Officer, Sierra Leone.
2. *East Africa*.—Dr. A. R. Cook, C.M.G., Church Missionary Society Hospital, Mengo, Uganda.
3. *North Africa*.—Dr. A. Laffont, Professor of gynaecology at the University of Algiers.
4. *Central Africa*.—Dr. J. Rodhain, Director of the Forest School of Tropical Medicine, Brussels.
5. *South Africa*.—Dr. A. Secheyaye, former medical missionary of the Swiss Mission in South Africa.

*QUESTION II. Still-Birth and Infant Mortality, from the
Social and Economic point of view.*

6. *South Africa*.—Miss E. D. Earthy, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London.
7. *West Africa*.—The Rev. Father Guilcher, African Missions of Lyons.
8. *East Africa*.—Dr. P. Meinulf Küsters, O.S.B., former missionary; Assistant Director of the Munich Ethnographical Museum.
9. *Central Africa*.—The late Emil Torday, anthropologist, London.

*QUESTION III. Education regarded as the Preparation of
Children for Life.*

10. *East Africa*.—The Rev. Father H. M. Dubois, S.J., former missionary in Madagascar; Secretary of the Conference of African Missions in Rome.
11. *South Africa*.—Miss A. M. H. Du Boulay, former Inspector of Education under the Transvaal Government.
12. *North Africa*.—The Rev. Father Joyeux, White Fathers; Managing Director, Society for Moral Assistance to North African Natives, Algiers.
13. *West Africa*.—Monsieur E. Robert, Inspector of Schools for the Evangelical Missions of Paris, French Cameroons.

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14. *Central Africa*.—The Rev. Father Vanderhoven, Scheut Fathers, Brussels.

QUESTION IV. General Conditions of Work for Children and Adolescents and the Protection of Children at Work.

15. *West Africa*.—The Rev. Edmond de Billy, French Wesleyan Mission in French West Africa.
16. *South Africa*.—Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.
17. *Central Africa*.—Prof. G. van der Kerken, former Vice-Governor of the Congo, and member of the Executive Committee of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Brussels.
18. *North Africa*.—Prof. Gennaro Mondaini, Royal Institute of Economic and Social Science, Rome.
19. *East Africa*.—The Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen, Church Missionary Society, Kenya.

An additional paper, on "The Factors of Infant Mortality in Morocco", by Dr. S. Abbaticci, former member of the Council for Health in the Colonies, and attaché at the National Office of Social Science, was handed in too late for discussion by the Conference.

COMMISSIONS

APPENDIX IV

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSIONS APPOINTED TO DRAFT THE CONCLUSIONS

QUESTIONS I and II. Infant Mortality

Dr. Mary G. Blacklock
Dr. A. R. Cook, C.M.G.
Dr. A. Sechehayé
Mr. Johnstone Kenyatta
Dr. J. O. Shircore, C.M.G.
Miss Alexander
Mme. Dardenne
Miss O. Tuboku-Metzger, C.M.B.
Prof. Dr. U. Gabbi

QUESTION III. Education

The Rev. Father Joyeux
The Rev. Father H. Dubois, S.J.
M. E. Robert
Miss Du Boulay
Dr. de Graft Johnson
Mr. E. R. J. Hussey
The Rev. Principal A. G. Fraser
Mr. E. G. Morris, O.B.E.
Miss Summerhayes
Prof. H. Labouret
Dr. Ragazzi.

QUESTION IV. Labour

The Rev. E. de Billy
Prof. Gennaro Mondaini
The Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen
Mr. P. E. Mitchell
Mrs. McGregor Ross
Mr. Rennie Smith, M.P.
Mr. John Harris
Miss Alexander
Miss G. Casely-Hayford
Dr. A. M. Ferraz de Andrade

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APPENDIX V

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN CHILDREN

Geneva, June 22nd-25th, 1931

CONCLUSIONS

Preamble

The International Conference on African Children, which was called by the Save the Children International Union and held at Geneva from 22nd to 25th June, 1931—

having considered and discussed the reports based on information received from all parts of Africa on the following subjects: still-birth and infant mortality from the pathological, social, and economic points of view, education as a preparation for life, the general conditions of child and adolescent labour, and the protection of children at work;

desirous of seeing an extension throughout Africa of the application of the principles of the Declaration of Geneva;

and at the same time gladly paying tribute to the work which governments as well as private organizations and individuals have been and are accomplishing for ameliorating the lot of the African peoples—

has arrived at the following conclusions:

QUESTIONS I AND II

Still-birth and Infant Mortality from the Pathological, Social, and Economic points of view

1. Attention should be drawn to the social and economic influences which affect still-birth and infant mortality and to the desirability of pursuing, in collaboration with the greatest possible numbers of trained Africans, anthropological, medical, sociological, and economic enquiries likely to throw light upon the problem.

2. The following matters might be taken up without delay:

- (a) Certain anti-moral, anti-hygienic, or superstitious practices widespread in Africa;
- (b) So-called social maladies which are causes of still-birth and infant mortality;
- (c) A determination of the nutritive value of indigenous food products for infants and their parents, with a view to certain modifications in their cultivation;
- (d) A study of the therapeutic value of African drugs;
- (e) A study of the effects of the abuses of industrialization.

CONCLUSIONS

3. It is desirable to develop active moral influence which can be exercised among the African peoples by Government officials, missionaries, and others, and also to extend the instruction in the care of children that is given to future mothers by teachers, midwives, nurses, etc.

4. Private associations and institutions and also conferences between individual workers should be encouraged, whose aim is to help African mothers and their children.

5. Governments, private organizations, and individuals as well, should be urged to help in recruiting, especially among the Africans themselves, considerable numbers of men and women doctors trained in tropical medicine and hygiene, and also of male and female nurses, midwives, and health visitors, who have received a sufficient technical training.

6. Measures should be taken for the collection and the exchange of information indispensable to the establishment of a certain policy in medical questions which, in its broad lines, would be applicable to the whole African continent, but would at the same time be elastic enough for adaptation to the habits, customs, and diseases of different areas.

7. A study should be made of the best means of securing the closest contact between medical personal staffs and educationists of all kinds, so that scientific notions on the subject of hygiene may be more widely popularized.

QUESTION III

Education regarded as the Preparation of Children for Life

1. The co-operation of private organizations, religious or otherwise, is eminently desirable; and in so far as those institutions accept the conditions required by the authorities, they ought to receive adequate grants from them.

2. The education of African boys and girls should aim at the development of their personality, and at such training especially as will be of advantage to the progress of their race.

3. The school curriculum should be fitted to the aptitudes and to the moral, intellectual, and physical needs of the African child. While avoiding being too theoretical, it should, before everything, be educative, and include the moral and religious elements necessary to the formation of character, as well as all training likely to help the African to better his economic condition.

4. The teaching of a European language is of great importance, but it ought to follow the teaching of the vernacular.

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5. Education having for its aim the uplifting of the whole mass of the people, it is advisable to encourage the multiplication of pre-elementary schools, known in certain districts as "bush schools". For these it should be possible to utilise the services of voluntary workers of a certain aptitude, even if they do not possess diplomas. These schools should serve as "nurses" for more advanced schools. It should be recognised that schools of many types are required to meet conditions which are themselves variable.

6. Africans should have a voice on all bodies, whether government or missionary, which exercise control in educational matters.

7. It is urgently necessary to increase the number of schools for girls and also of women school inspectors.

8. Careful attention should be given to the sanitary conditions of the school compounds and buildings, which can then serve as an example to the community.

9. The Conference records its debt to the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures for the notable service it is rendering to the cause of African education, especially in the simplification of dialects. It begs the Institute to put in hand the preparation of a manual of elementary science, treating of the chief natural phenomena and the diseases of the human body. This could be used as a basis for versions in the principal African languages.

QUESTION IV

General Conditions of Child and Adolescent Labour and Protection of Children at Work

1. If the increasing industrialization of Africa, which this Conference anticipates, is not to have disastrous effects on the life conditions of African children, it is desirable that steps should now be taken so far as is possible, in the light of experience already gained, to prepare the African peoples for the changes that will result therefrom.

2. Measures should be taken to furnish to all those interested complete documentary information concerning legislation relating to child labour in Africa and also information concerning the extent of the application of the various international acts relating to the employment of children in industry, in agriculture, and on board ship.

3. Whilst the Conference is convinced that the right place for the child is in the family, it expresses the opinion that, when children and young people are employed as wage-earners, they should be protected by suitable legislation.

CONCLUSIONS

4. The Conference is of the opinion that the attention of the competent public authorities should be drawn to specific cases of abuse where child labour is concerned.

5. The Conference would welcome any effective international action, in conformity with existing treaties, which might be taken for the purpose of implementing international conventions dealing with child labour.

6. The Conference is of opinion that the possibility of giving to the Africans in their own languages documentary information about legislation in regard to child labour should be examined.

7. The Conference is of opinion that, for moral and physical welfare of the children, the number of recreation centres in urban areas should be increased.

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APPENDIX VI

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN CHILDREN

PATRONS

(Titles are given in the relevant language in each case)

- The Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, G.B.E., President of the International Council of Women.
- Ex^m. Señor Don Francisco Agramonte, Spanish Director-General *ad interim* of Morocco and the Colonies.
- Monsieur E. Allégret, Director of the Evangelical Missionary Society, Paris.
- Monsieur Arnold, Hon. Colonial Administrator, Belgium.
- Her Grace the Duchess of Atholl, D.B.E., M.P.
- The Right Rev. Mgr. J. Biermans, Superior of the Society St. Joseph, Mill Hill, London.
- His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster.
- Madame la Comtesse Brazza.
- The Countess Buxton, G.B.E.
- His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (The Most Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang, D.D.).
- S. Ex^e. Monsieur J. Carde, Governor-General of Algeria.
- S. Ex^e. Monsieur le Sénateur Carton.
- Le Très Rév. Père Chabert, Superior of the African Missions of Lyons.
- Monsieur Daniel Couve, Director of the Evangelical Missionary Society, Paris.
- Signor Filippo Cremonesi, President of the Italian Red Cross.
- Sir James Currie, K.B.E., formerly head of Gordon College, Khartoum.
- Monsieur Alfred Desbaillets, President of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva.
- Monsieur Diagne, French Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.
- The Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, D.D., Principal of New College, Hampstead.
- The President of the Geneva City Council.
- The Viscountess Gladstone.
- The Right Rev. Bishop Charles Gore, D.D.

PATRONS

- Ex^m. Señor Marqués de Guad-el-Jelù, late Spanish Minister of Labour.
- General the Right Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.
- His Excellency Mgr. Arthur Hinsley, D.D., Apostolic Delegate in Africa.
- S. Ex^o. Monseigneur L. le Hunsec, Superior of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit.
- Ex^m. Señor Marqués de Hoyos, President of the Spanish Red Cross.
- Monsieur Max Huber, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross.
- S. Ex^e. Monsieur Henri Jaspar, Belgian Prime Minister and Minister of the Colonies.
- Monsieur G. Julien, Hon. Colonial Governor, France.
- Monsieur Krafft-Bonnard, Chairman of the Swiss Mission in South Africa.
- Monsieur Henri Labouret, Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.
- Monsieur le Professeur Lévy-Bruhl.
- S. Ex^e. Monsieur Maurice Lippens, Belgian Minister of Transport.
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- Miss Ishbel MacDonald.
- Miss E. H. Major, C.B.E., Mistress of Girton College, Cambridge.
- Madame J. Manceron, Tunis.
- Sua Ecc^a. Prince Don Francisco Massimo, President of the Italian Anti-slavery Society.
- The Right Hon. Lord Noel-Buxton, President of the Save the Children Fund, Great Britain, and a Patron of the Save the Children International Union.
- Monsieur le Professeur Nolf, President of the Belgian Red Cross.
- The Right Hon. Lord Passfield, British Secretary of State for the Colonies.
- The Rev. Thomas Phillips, Principal of Baptist College, Cardiff.
- The Lord Ponsonby, Parliamentary Secretary to the British Ministry of Transport.
- Sir Edward Denison Ross, C.I.E., Director of the School of Oriental Languages, London.
- Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.I., Master of University College, Oxford.
- Madame Lucien Saint, London.

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The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Albans (Dr. Michael Furse).
Herr Professor M. Schlunk, President of the Federation of German
Evangelical Missions.

Lady Simon.

General the Right Hon. J. C. Smuts, formerly Prime Minister of the
Union of South Africa.

Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., Governor of Cyprus.

Monsieur Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour
Office.

The Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., British Secretary of State for
the Dominions.

Le Très Rév. Père Voillard, Superior of the White Fathers.

Herr Dr. Diedrich Westermann, Director of the International
Institute of African Languages and Civilisations.

His Grace the Archbishop of York (the Most Rev. William
Temple, D.D.).

PRESIDENT

THE RIGHT HON. LORD NOEL-BUXTON, President of the
Save the Children Fund, Great Britain, and a Patron of the
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Monsieur J. C. van Notten, First Vice-President of the Save the
Children International Union, member of the Council of the
Save the Children Fund, Netherlands Consul in Geneva,
Chairman.

Dr. Mary G. Blacklock, Member Colonial Advisory Medical and
Sanitary Committee of the British Colonial Office, formerly
Government Medical Officer, Sierra Leone.

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Monsieur Th. Burnier, Representative of the Evangelical Missions of Paris at Geneva.

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Mrs. de Bunsen, President of the British Committee of the Conference, member of the Executive Committee of the Save the Children International Union and of the Council of the Save the Children Fund.

Le Rév. Père Henri Dubois, s.j., Secretary of the Conference of Catholic Missions in Africa, at Rome.

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Mr. L. B. Golden, General Secretary of the Save the Children Fund and *Délégué-général* of the Save the Children International Union.

Monsieur Henri A. Junod, of the Swiss Mission in South Africa, President of the International Bureau for the Defence of Native Populations.

Hochw. Dr. Meinulf Küsters, O.S.B., of the Ethnographical Museum, Munich.

Mrs. Gordon Morier, Vice-Chairman of the Save the Children Fund and member of the Executive Committee of the Save the Children International Union.

Monsieur F. O. Hefti, Vice-President of the International Bureau for the Defence of Native Populations.

Mademoiselle Lucie Schmidt, member of the Executive Committee of the Save the Children International Union and of the Research Section of the International Labour Office.

Monsieur Raymond Schlemmer, of the World Conference on Narcotic Education.

Herr Professor Dr. M. Schlunk, President of the Federation of German Evangelical Missions, Tübingen.

Madame J. E. Vajkai, Administrator of the Save the Children Fund in Hungary and Vice-President of the Save the Children International Union.

Madame van der Kerken, member of the Executive Committee of the Save the Children International Union and President of the Brussels Society for the Protection of Native Women.

Mr. Hubert D. Watson, C.I.E., Chairman and Hon. Treasurer of the Save the Children Fund and Vice-President of the Save the Children International Union.

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Mademoiselle J. M. de Morsier, Assistant Secretary General of the Save the Children International Union.

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